THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN,

That Part especially now call'd

ENGLAND.

From the first Traditional Beginning,
Continu'd to the

NORMAN CONQUEST.

Collected out of the Ancientest and Best Authors thereof, by

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BOOK I.

THE Beginning of Nations, thoſe excepted of whom Sacred Books have ſpok'n, is to this day unknown. Nor only the Beginning, but the Deeds alſo of many ſucceeding Ages, yea, periods of Ages, either wholly unknown, or obſcur'd and blemiſht with Fables. Whether it were that the uſe of Letters came in long after, or were it the violence of Barbarous

Inundations, or they themselves at certain Revolutions of Time, fatally decaying, and degenerating into Sloth and Ignorance; whereby the Monuments of more ancient Civility have bin som destroy'd, som lost. Perhaps dis-esteem and contempt of the Public Affairs then present, as not worth recording, might partly be in cause. Certainly oft-times we see that wise Men, and of best Abilitie have forborn to Write the Acts of thir own Daies, while they beheld with a just loathing and disdain, not only how Unworthy, how Pervers, how Corrupt, but often how Ignoble, how Petty, how below all History the Persons and thir Actions were; who either by Fortune, or som rude Election had attain'd as a sore Judgment, and Ignominie upon the Land, to have Chief Sway in managing the Common-wealth. But that any Law, or Superstition of our Old Philosophers the *Druids*, forbad the *Britans* to write the Memorable Deeds, I know not why any out of *Cæsar* should alledge: He indeed saith, that thir Doctrine they thought not lawful to commit to Letters; but in most matters else, both Privat, and Public, among which well may History be reckon'd, they us'd the Greek Tongue: And that the *British Druids*, who taught those in *Gaule* would be ignorant of any Language known and us'd by thir Disciples, or so frequently writing other things, and so inquisitive into highest, would for want of Recording be ever Children in the Knowledge of Times and Ages, is not likely.

Cæs. l. 6.

What

Whatever might be the reaſon, this we find, that of *Britiſh Affairs*, from the firſt peopling of the Iland to the coming of *Julius Cæſar*, nothing certain, either by Tradition, Hiſtory, or Ancient Fame hath hitherto been left us. That which we have of oldeſt ſeeming, hath by the greater part of judicious Antiquaries bin long rejected for a Modern Fable.

Nevertheleſs there being others beſides the firſt ſuppos'd Author, Men not unread, nor unlearned in Antiquitie, who admit that for approved Story, which the former explode for Fiction; and ſeeing that oft-times Relations heretofore accounted Fabulous, have bin after found to contain in them many foot-ſteps, and reliques of ſomething true, as what we read in Poets of the Flood, and Giants little beleev'd, till undoubted witneſſes taught us, that all was not fain'd; I have therefore determin'd to beſtow the telling over ev'n of theſe reputed Tales; be it for nothing elſe but in favour of our Engliſh Poets, and Rhetoricians, who by their Art will know, how to uſe them judiciouſly.

I might alſo produce Example, as *Diodorus* among the *Greeks*, *Livie* and others of the *Latines*, *Polydore* and *Virunnius* accounted among our own Writers. But I intend not with Controverſies and Quotations to delay or interrupt the ſmooth courſe of Hiſtory; much leſs to argue and debate long who were the firſt Inhabitants, with what Probabilities, what Authorities each Opinion hath bin upheld, but ſhall endeavour that which hitherto

hath been needed moſt, with plain, and light-ſom brevity, to relate well and orderly things worth the Noting, ſo as may beſt inſtruct and benefit them that read. Which imploring Divine Aſſiſtance, that it may redound to his Glory, and the good of the *Britiſh* Nation, I *now begin.*

That the whole Earth was Inhabited before the Flood, and to the utmoſt point of habitable Ground, from thoſe effectual words of *God* in the Creation, may be more than conjectur'd. Hence that this Iland alſo had her Dwellers, her Affairs, and perahps her Stories, ev'n in that Old World thoſe many hundred years, with much reaſon we may inferr. After the Flood, and the diſperſing of Nations, as they journey'd leaſurely from the Eaſt, *Gomer* the eldeſt Son of *Japhet*, and his Off-ſpring, as by Authorities, Arguments, and Affinitie of divers Names is generally beleev'd, were the firſt that peopl'd all theſe Weſt and Northern Climes. But they of our own Writers, who thought they had don nothing, unleſs with all circumſtance they tell us when, and who firſt ſet foot upon this Iland, preſume to name out of fabulous and counterfeit Authors a certain *Samothes* or *Dis*, a fourth or ſixth Son of *Japhet*, whom they make about 200 years after the Flood, to have planted with Colonies; firſt the Continent of *Celtica*, or *Gaule*, and next *this Iland*; Thence to have nam'd it *Samothea*, to have Reign'd heer, and after him Lineally four Kings, *Magus*, *Saron*, *Druis*, and *Bardus*. But the

the forg'd *Beroſus* whom only they have to cite, no where mentions that either hee, or any of thoſe whom they bring, did ever paſs into *Britan*, or ſend thir people hither. So that this Out-landiſh figment may eaſily excuſe our not allowing it the room heer ſo much as of a *Britiſh* Fable.

That which follows, perhaps as wide from truth, though ſeeming leſs impertinent, is, that theſe *Samotheans* under the Reign of *Bardus* were ſubdu'd by *Albian* a Giant, Son of *Neptune*: who call'd the Iland after his own name, and rul'd it 44 years. Till at length paſſing over into *Gaul*, in aid of his Brother *Leſtrygon*, againſt whom *Hercules* was haſting out of *Spain* into *Italy*, he was there ſlain in fight, and *Bergion* alſo his Brother.

Sure anough we are, that *Britan* hath bin anciently term'd *Albion*, both by the *Greeks* and *Romans*. And *Mela* the Geographer makes mention of a ſtonie ſhoar in *Languedoc*, where by report ſuch a Battel was fought. The reſt, as his giving name to the Ile, or ever landing heer, depends altogether upon late ſurmiſes. But too abſurd, and too unconſcionably groſs is that fond invention that wafted hither the fifty Daughters of a ſtrange *Diocleſian King of Syria*; brought in doubtleſs by ſome illiterate pretender to ſomthing miſtak'n in the common Poetical Story of *Danaus King of Argos*, while his vanity, not pleas'd with the obſcure beginning which trueſt Antiquity affords the Nation, labour'd to contrive us a Pedigree, as he thought, more noble. Theſe

Daughters

Daughters by appointment of *Danaus* on the Mariage-night having murder'd all thir Husbands, except *Linceus*, whom his Wives loialty ſav'd, were by him at the ſuit of his Wife thir Siſter, not put to death, but turn'd out to Sea in a ſhip unmann'd; of which whole Sex they had incurr'd the hate: and as the Tale goes, were driv'n on *this Iland*. Where the Inhabitants, none but Devils, as ſome write, or as others, a lawleſs crew left here by *Albion* without Head or Governour, both entertain'd them, and had iſſue by them a ſecond breed of Giants, who tyranniz'd *the Ile*, till *Brutus* came.

The Eldeſt of thoſe Dames in thir Legend they call *Albina*; and from thence, for which cauſe the whole Scene was fram'd, will have the ſame *Albion* deriv'd. Incredible it may ſeem, ſo ſluggiſh a conceit ſhould prove ſo ancient, as to be authoriz'd by the Elder *Ninnius*, reputed to have liv'd above a thouſand years agoe. This I find not in him; but that *Hiſtion* ſprung of *Japhet*, had four Sons; *Francus*, *Romanus*, *Alemannus*, and *Britto*, of whom the *Britans*; as true, I beleeve, as that thoſe other Nations whoſe names are reſembl'd, came of the other three; if theſe Dreams give not juſt occaſion to call in doubt the Book it ſelf, which bears that title. *Holinſhed.*

Hitherto the things themſelves have giv'n us a warrantable diſpatch to run them ſoon over. But now of *Brutus* and his Line, with the whole Progeny of Kings, to the entrance of *Julius Cæſar*, we cannot ſo eaſily be diſcharg'd;

charg'd; Descents of Ancestry, long continu'd Laws and Exploits not plainly seeming to be borrow'd, or devis'd, which on the common belief have wrought no small impression: defended by many, deny'd utterly by few. For what though *Brutus*, and the whole *Trojan* pretence were yeelded up, seeing they who first devis'd to bring us from some noble Ancestor were content at first with *Brutus* the Consul; till better invention, although not willing to forgoe the name, taught them to remove it higher into a more fabulous Age, and by the same remove lighting on the *Trojan* Tales, in affectation to make the *Britan* of one Original with the *Roman*, pitch'd there, yet those old and inborn names of successive Kings, never any to have bin real persons, or don in thir lives at least some part of what so long hath bin remember'd, cannot be thought without too strict an incredulity.

For these, and those causes above mention'd, that which hath receav'd approbation from so many, I have chos'n not to omitt. Certain or uncertain, be that upon the credit of those whom I must follow; so far as keeps alooff from impossible and absurd, attested by ancient Writers from Books more ancient I refuse not, as the due and proper subject of Story. The principal Author is well know'n to be *Geoffery* of *Monmouth*; what he was, and whence his Authority, who in his Age, or before him have deliver'd the same matter, and such like general Discourses, will better stand in a Treatise by themselves. All of them agree in

Henry of *Huntingdon.* *Matthew* of *Westminster.*

in this, that *Brutus* was the Son of *Silvius*; he of *Ascanius*; whose Father was *Æneas a Trojan Prince*, who at the burning of that City, with his Son *Ascanius*, and a collected number that escap'd, after long wandring on the Sea, arriv'd in *Italy*. Where at length, by the assistance of *Latinus King of Latium*, who had giv'n him *his Daughter Lavinia*, he obtain'd to succeed in that Kingdom, and left it to *Ascanius*, whose Son *Silvius* (though *Roman* Histories deny *Silvius* to be Son of *Ascanius*) had married secretly a Neece of *Lavinia*.

She being with Child, the matter became known to *Ascanius*. Who commanding his *Magicians to enquire by Art, what sex the Maid had conceiv'd*, had answer, *that it was one who should be the death of both his Parents; and banish'd for the fact, should after all in a farr Country attain to highest honour*. The prediction fail'd not, for in travel the Mother di'd. And *Brutus* (the Child was so call'd) at fifteen years of Age, attending his Father to the Chace, with an Arrow unfortunately kill'd him.

Banish'd therefore by his Kindred, he retires into *Greece*. Where meeting with the Race of *Helenus King Priam's Son*, held there in Servile condition by *Pandrasius then King*, with them he abides. For *Pirrhus* in revenge of his Father slain at *Troy* had brought thither with him *Helenus*, and many others into servitude. There *Brutus* among his own Stock so thrives in Vertue and in Arms, as renders him belov'd to Kings, and great Captains, above all the Youth of that Land. Wherby the

Trojans

Trojans not only begin to hope, but ſecretly to move him, that he would lead them the way to liberty. They allege their numbers, and the promis'd help of *Aſſaracus* a Noble Greekiſh Youth, by the Mothers ſide a *Trojan*; whom for that cauſe his Brother went about to diſpoſſeſs of certain Caſtles bequeath'd him by his Father. *Brutus* conſidering both the Forces offer'd him, and the ſtrength of thoſe Holds, not unwillingly conſents.

Firſt therefore having fortifi'd thoſe Caſtles, he with *Aſſaracus* and the whole multitude betake them to the Woods and Hills; as the ſafeſt place from whence to expoſtulate; and in the name of all ſends to *Pandraſus* this Meſſage; *That the* Trojans *holding it unworthy thir Anceſtors to ſerve in a Foren Kingdom, had retreated to the Woods; chooſing rather a Savage life than a ſlaviſh: If that diſpleas'd him, that then with his leave they might depart to ſome other Soil.*

As this may paſs with good allowance, that the *Trojans* might be many in theſe parts, for *Helenus* was by *Pirrhus* made King of the *Chaonians*, and the Sons of *Pirrhus* by *Andromache Hector*'s Wife could not but be powerful through all *Epirus*, ſo much the more it may be doubted, how theſe *Trojans* could be thus in bondage, where they had Friends and Country-men ſo potent. But to examin theſe things with diligence, were but to confute the Fables of *Britan* with the Fables of *Greece* or *Italy*; for of this Age, what we have to ſay, as well concerning moſt other Countries, as this Iland,

is

is equally under Queſtion. Be't how it will, *Pandraſus* not expecting ſo bold a Meſſage from the Sons of Captives, gathers an Army. And marching toward the Woods, *Brutus* who had notice of his approach nigh to a Town call'd *Sparatinum*, (I know not what Town, but certain of no Greek name) over night planting himſelf there with good part of his men, ſuddenly ſets upon him, and with ſlaughter of the *Greeks*, purſues him to the paſſage of a River, which mine Author names *Akalon*, meaning perhaps *Achelous*, or *Acheron*: where at the Ford he overlaies them afreſh. This victory obtain'd, and a ſufficient ſtrength left in *Sparatinum*, *Brutus* with *Antigonus*, the King's Brother and his Friend *Anacletus*, whom he had tak'n in the fight, returns to the reſidue of his Friends in the thick Woods. While *Pandraſus* with all ſpeed recollecting, beſieges the Town. *Brutus* to relieve his men beſieg'd, who earneſtly call'd him, diſtruſting the ſufficiency of his Force, bethinks himſelf of this Policy. Calls to him *Anacletus*, and threatning inſtant death elſe, both to him and his Friend *Antigonus*, enjoyns him, that he ſhould go at the ſecond hour of night to the Greekiſh Leagre, and tell the Guards he had brought *Antigonus* by ſtealth out of Priſon to a certain woody Vale; unable through the waight of his Fetters to move furder: entreating them to come ſpeedily and fetch him in. *Anacletus*, to ſave both himſelf and his Friend *Antigonus*, ſwears this; and at fit hour ſetts on alone toward the Camp:

Camp: is mett, examin'd, and at laſt unqueſtionably known. To whom, great profeſſion of fidelity firſt made, he frames his Tale, as had bin taught him: and they now fully aſſur'd, with a credulous raſhneſs leaving thir Stations, far'd accordingly by the Ambuſh that there awaited them. Forthwith *Brutus* dividing his men into three parts, leads on in ſilence to the Camp; commanding firſt each part at a ſeveral place to enter, and forbear Execution, till he with his Squadron poſſeſs'd of the King's Tent, gave Signal to them by Trumpet. The ſound whereof no ſooner heard, but huge havock begins upon the ſleeping, and unguarded Enemy; whom the beſeiged alſo now ſallying forth, on the other ſide aſſaile. *Brutus* the while had ſpecial care to ſeiſe and ſecure the *Kings Perſon*; whoſe Life ſtill within his Cuſtody, he knew was the ſureſt pledge to obtain what he ſhould demand. Day appearing, he enters the Town, there diſtributes the *Kings Treaſury*, and leaving the place better fortify'd, returns with the King his Priſner to the Woods. Strait the ancient and grave Men he ſummons to Counſell, what they ſhould now demand of the *King*.

After long debate *Mempricius*, one of the graveſt, utterly diſſuading them from thought of longer ſtay in *Greece*, unleſs they meant to be deluded with a ſuttle peace, and the awaited revenge of thoſe whoſe friends they had ſlain, adviſes them to demand firſt the *Kings Eldeſt Daughter Innogen* in marriage to thir Leader

Leader *Brutus*, with a rich Dowry, next ſhipping, mony, and fitt proviſion for them all to depart the Land.

This reſolution pleaſing beſt the King now brought in, and plac'd in a high Seat, is breifly told, that on theſe conditions granted, he might be free, not granted, he muſt prepare to die.

Preſt with fear of death the *King* readily yeelds: eſpecially to beſtow his Daughter on whom he confeſs'd ſo Noble and ſo Valiant: offers them alſo the Third part of his Kingdom, if they like to ſtay; if not, to be thir Hoſtage himſelf, till he had made good his word.

The Mariage therefore ſolemniz'd, and ſhipping from all parts got together, the *Trojans* in a Fleet, no leſs writt'n then three hundred four and twenty Sail, betake them to the wide Sea; where with a proſperous courſe two daies and a night bring them on a certain Iland long before diſpeopl'd and left waſt by Sea-Roavers; the name whereof was then *Leogecia*, now unknown. They who were ſent out to diſcover, came at length to a ruin'd City; where was a Temple and Image of *Diana* that gave Oracles: but not meeting firſt or laſt ſave wild Beaſts, they return with this notice to thir Ships: Wiſhing thir General would enquire of that Oracle what voiage to purſue.

Conſultation had, *Brutus* taking with him *Gerion* his Diviner, and twelve of the ancienteſt, with wonted Ceremonies before the inward ſhrine of the Goddeſs, in verſe, as it ſeems

ſeems the manner was, utters his requeſt, *Diva potens nemorum*, &c.

Goddeſs of ſhades, and Huntreſs, who at will
Walk'ſt on the rowling ſphear, and through the deep,
On thy third Reigne the Earth look now, and tell
What Land, what Seat of reſt thou bidſt me ſeek,
What certain Seat, where I may worſhip thee
For aye, with Temples vow'd, and Virgin quires.

To whom ſleeping before the Altar, *Diana* in a Viſion that night thus anſwer'd, *Brute ſub occaſum Solis*, &c.

Brutus *far to the Weſt, in th' Ocean wide*
Beyond the Realm of Gaul, *a Land there lies,*
Sea-girt it lies, where Giants dwelt of old,
Now void, it fitts thy people; thether bend
Thy courſe, there ſhalt thou find a laſting ſeat,
There to thy Sons another Troy *ſhall riſe,*
And Kings *be born of thee, whoſe dreaded might*
Shall aw the World, and Conquer Nations bold.

Theſe Verſes Originally Greek, were put in Latin, ſaith *Virunnius*, by *Gildas* a Britiſh Poet, and him to have liv'd under *Claudius*. Which granted true, adds much to the Antiquitie of this Fable; and indeed the Latin Verſes are much better, than for the Age of *Geoffrey* ap-*Arthur*, unleſs perhaps *Joſeph of Exeter*, the only ſmooth Poet of thoſe times, befriended him; in this *Diana* overſhot her Oracle thus ending, *Ipſis totius terræ ſubditus orbis erit*, That to the race of *Brute* Kings of

this Iland, the whole Earth ſhall be ſubject.

But *Brutus* guided now, as he thought, by Divine Conduct, ſpeeds him towards the Weſt; and after ſom encounters on the *Afric* ſide, arrives at a place on the *Tyrrhen* Sea; where he happ'ns to find the Race of thoſe *Trojans*, who with *Antenor* came into *Italy*; and *Corineus* a man much fam'd, was thir Chief: though by ſurer Authors it be reported, that thoſe *Trojans* with *Antenor*, were ſeated on the other ſide of *Italie*, on the *Adriatic*, not the *Tyrrhen* ſhoar. But theſe joyning Company, and paſt the *Herculean Pillars*, at the mouth of *Ligeris in Aquitania* caſt Anchor. Where after ſom diſcovery made of the place, *Corineus* Hunting nigh the ſhoar with his Men, is by Meſſengers of the King *Goffarius Pictus* mett, and queſtion'd about his Errand there. Who not anſwering to thir mind, *Imbertus*, one of them, lets fly an Arrow at *Corineus*, which he avoiding, ſlaies him: and the *Pictavian* himſelf heerupon levying his whole Force, is overthrown by *Brutus*, and *Corineus*; who with the Battel Ax which he was wont to manage againſt the *Tyrrhen Giants* is ſaid to have done marvells. But *Goffarius* having draw'n to his Aid the whole Country of *Gaul*, at that time govern'd by *Twelv Kings*, puts his Fortune to a ſecond Trial, wherin the *Trojans* over-born by multitude, are driv'n back, and beſeig'd in thir own Camp, which by good fortefight was ſtrongly ſituate. Whence *Brutus* unexpectedly iſſuing out, and *Corineus* in the mean while, whoſe device it was, aſſault-

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ing them behind from a Wood, where he had convay'd his men the night before, the *Trojans* are again Victors, but with the loſs of *Turon* a Valiant Nefew of *Brutus*; whoſe Aſhes left in that place, gave name to the City of *Tours*, built there by the *Trojans*. *Brutus* finding now his powers much leſsn'd, and this yet not the place foretold him, leaves *Aquitain*, and with an eaſie courſe, arriving at *Totneſs* in *Dev'nſhire*, quickly perceivs heer to be the promis'd end of his labours.

The Iland not yet *Britan* but *Albion*, was in a manner deſert and inhoſpitable; kept only by a remnant of *Giants*; whoſe exceſſive Force and Tyrannie had conſum'd the reſt. Them *Brutus* deſtroies, and to his people divides the Land, which with ſom reference to his own name he thenceforth calls *Britan*. To *Corineus*, *Cornwal*, as now we call it, fell by Lot; the rather by him lik't, for that the hugeſt Giants, in Rocks and Caves were ſaid to lurk ſtill there; which kind of Monſters to deal with was his old exerciſe.

And heer, with leave beſpok'n to recite a grand Fable, though dignify'd by our beſt Poets; While *Brutus* on a certain Feſtival day ſolemnly kept on that ſhoar, where he firſt landed, was with the People in great jollity and mirth, a crew of theſe Savages breaking in upon them, began on the ſudden another ſort of Game than at ſuch a meeting was expected. But at length by many hands overcome, *Goëmagog* the hugeſt, in hight twelv Cubits, is reſerv'd alive; that with him *Cori-*

neus, who desir'd nothing more, might try his strength; whom in a Wrestle the Giant catching aloft, with a terrible hugg broke three of his Ribs: Nevertheless *Corineus* enrag'd, heaving him up by main force, and on his Shoulders bearing him to the next high Rock, threw him headlong all shatter'd into the Sea, and left his name on the Cliff, call'd ever since *Langoëmagog*, which is to say, the Giants leap.

After this, *Brutus* in a chosen place builds *Troia nova*, chang'd in time to *Trinovantum*, now *London*; and began to enact Laws; *Heli* beeing then high Priest in *Judæa*: and having govern'd the whole Ile 24 Years, dy'd, and was buried in his new *Troy*. His three Sons *Locrine*, *Albanact*, and *Camber* divide the Land by consent. *Locrine* had the middle part *Loëgria*; *Camber* possess'd *Cambria* or *Wales*; *Albanact Albania*, now *Scotland*. But he in the end by *Humber* King of the *Hunns*, who with a Fleet invaded that Land, was slain in fight, and his People driv'n back into *Loëgria*. *Locrine* and his Brother goe out against *Humber*; who now marching outward, was by them defeated, and in a River drown'd, which to this day retains his name. Among the spoils of his Camp and Navy, were found certain young Maids, and *Estrildis*, above the rest, passing fair; the Daughter of a *King in Germany*; from whence *Humber*, as he went wasting the Sea-Coast, had led her Captive: whom *Locrine*, though before contracted to the Daughter of *Corineus*, resolves to marry. But beeing forc'd and threatn'd by *Corineus*, whose Autority,

rity, and Power he fear'd, *Guendolen* the Daughter he yeelds to marry, but in ſecret loves the other: and oft-times retiring as to ſom private Sacrifice, through Vaults and Paſſages made under ground; and ſeven years thus enjoying her, had by her a Daughter equally fair, whoſe name was *Sabra*. But when once his fear was off by the Death of *Corineus*, not content with ſecret enjoyment, divorcing *Guendolen*, he make *Eſtrildis* now his Queen. *Guendolen* all in a rage departs into *Cornwall*; where *Madan*, the Son ſhe had by *Locrine*, was hitherto brought up by *Corineus* his Grandfather. And gathering an Army of her Fathers Friends and Subjects, gives Battail to her Husband by the River *Sture*; wherein *Locrine* ſhot with an Arrow ends his life. But not ſo ends the fury of *Guendolen*; for *Eſtrildis* and her Daughter *Sabra*, ſhe throws into a River: and to leave a Monument of Revenge, proclaims, that the ſtream be thenceforth call'd after the Damſels name; which by length of time is chang'd now to *Sabrina*, or *Severn*.

Fifteen Years ſhe Governs in behalf of her Son; then reſigning to him at Age, retires to her Fathers Dominion. This ſaith my Author, was in the daies of *Samuel*. *Madan* hath the praiſe to have well and peacefully rul'd the ſpace of 40 Years; leaving behind him two Sons, *Mempricius*, and *Malim*. *Mempricius* had firſt to do with the ambition of his Brother, aſpiring to ſhare with him in the Kingdom; whom therefore at a meeting to

compoſe matters, with a treachery which his cauſe needed not, he ſlew.

Nor was he better in the ſole poſſeſſion, whereof ſo ill he could endure a Partner, killing his Nobles, and thoſe eſpecially next to ſucceed him; till laſtly giv'n over to unnatural luſt, in the twentieth of his Reign, hunting in a Foreſt, he was devowr'd by Wolves.

His Son *Ebranc*, a man of mighty ſtrength and ſtature, Reign'd 40 Years. He firſt after *Brutus* waſted *Gaul*; and returning rich and proſperous, builded *Caerebranc*, now *York*; in *Albania Alclud, Mount Agned, or the Caſtle of Maydens, now Edinburgh.* He had 20 Sons and 30 Daughters by 20 Wives. His Daughters he ſent to *Silvius Alba* into *Italy*, who beſtow'd them on his Peers of the *Trojan* Line. His Sons under the leading of *Aſſaracus* thir Brother, won them Lands and Signories in *Germany*; thence call'd, from theſe Brethren, *Germania*: a derivation too haſtily ſuppos'd, perhaps before the word *Germanus* or the Latin Tongue was in uſe. Som who have deſcrib'd *Henault*, as *Jacobus Bergomas*, and *Leſſabeus*, are cited to affirm that *Ebranc* in his Warre there was by *Brunchildis Lord of Henault* put to the worſe.

Brutus therefore ſurnamed *Greenſhield* ſucceeding, to repair his Fathers loſſes, as the ſame *Leſſabeus* reports, fought a ſecond Battail in *Henault* with *Brunchild* at the mouth of *Scaldis*, and Encamp'd on the River *Hania*. Of which *our Spencer* alſo thus Sings.

Let Scaldis *tell, and let tell* Hania,
And let the Marſh of Eſthambruges *tell*
What

What colour were their Waters that same day,
And all the Moar twixt Elversham *and* Dell,
With blood of Henalois *which therin fell;*
How oft that day did sad Brunchildis *see*
The Greenshield *dy'd in dolorous Vermeil,* &c.

But *Henault*, and *Brunchild*, and *Greenshield* seeme newer name sthan for a Story pretended thus Antient.

Him succeeded *Leil*, a maintainer of Peace and Equity; but slackn'd in his latter end, whence arose some civil discord. He built in the North *Cairleil*; and in the days of *Solomon*.

Rudhuddibras, or *Hudibras* appeasing the commotions which his Father could not, sownded *Caerkeynt* or *Canturbury*, *Caerguent*, or *Winchester*, and *Mount Paladur*, now *Septonia* or *Shaftsbury*: but this by others is contradicted.

Bladud his Son built *Caerbadus* or *Bathe*, and those medicinable waters he dedicated to *Minerva*, in whose Temple there he kept fire continually burning. He was a man of great Invention, and taught Necromancy: till having made him Wings to fly, he fell down upon the Temple of *Apollo* in *Trinovant*, and so dy'd after twenty years Reigne.

Hitherto from Father to Son the direct Line hath run on: but *Leir* who next Reign'd, had only three Daughters, and no Male Issue: govern'd laudably, and built *Caer-Leir*, now *Leicestre*, on the Bank of *Sora*. But at last, failing through Age, he determines to bestow his Daughters, and so among them to divide his Kingdom. Yet first to try which of them

lov'd him best (a Trial that might have made him, had he known as wisely how to try, as he seem'd to know how much the trying behoov'd him) *he resolves a simple resolution, to ask them solemly in order; and which of them should profess largest, her to beleev.* *Gonoril* th' Eldest apprehending too well her Fathers weakness, makes answer, invoking Heav'n, *That she lov'd him above her Soul. Therefore*, quoth the old man overjoy'd, *since thou so honourst my declin'd Age, to thee and the Husband whom thou shalt choose, I give the third part of my Realm.* So fair a speeding for a few words soon utter'd, was to *Regan* the second, ample instruction what to say. She on the same demand spares no protesting, and the Gods must witness, that otherwise to express her thoughts she knew not, but that *she lov'd him above all Creatures*; and so receavs an equal reward with her Sister. But *Cordelia* the youngest, though hitherto best belov'd, and now before her Eyes the rich and present hire of a little easie soothing, the danger also, and the loss likely to betide plain dealing, yet moves not from the solid purpose of a sincere and vertuous answer. *Father*, saith she, *my love towards you is as my duty bids; what should a Father seek, what can a Child promise more? they who pretend beyond this, flatter.* When the old man, sorry to hear this, and wishing her to recall those words, perlisted asking, with a loiall sadness at her Fathers infirmity, but som thing on the sudden, harsh, and glancing rather at her Sisters, than speaking her own mind,

mind, *Two waies only*, saith she, *I have to answer what you require mee; the former, Your command is, I should recant; accept then this other which is left mee; look how much you have, so much is your value, and so much I love you. Then hear thou*, quoth *Leir* now all in a passion, *what thy ingratitude hath gain'd thee; because thou haste not reverenc'd thy aged Father equall to thy Sisters, part in my Kingdom, or what else is mine reck'n to have none.* And without delay gives in mariage his other Daughters, *Gonorill* to *Maglaunus* Duke of *Albania*, *Regan* to *Henninus* Duke of *Cornwall*; with them in present half his Kingdom; the rest to follow at his Death. In the mean while Fame was not sparing to divulge the Wisdom, and other Graces of *Cordeilla*, insomuch that *Aganippus a great King in Gaul* (however he came by his Greek name) seeks her to Wife, and nothing alter'd at the loss of her Dowry, receavs her gladly in such manner as she was sent him. After this *King Leir*, more and more drooping with Years, became an easy prey to his Daughters and thir Husbands; who now by daily encroachment had seiss'd the whole Kingdom into thir hands: and the old King is put to sojorn with his Eldest Daughter, attended only by threescore Knights. But they in a short while grudg'd at, as too numerous and disorderly for continual Guests, are reduc'd to thirty. Not brooking that affront, the old King betakes him to his second Daughter: but there also discord soon arising between the Servants of differing Masters in one Family,

Family, five only are ſuffer'd to attend him. Then back again he returns to the other; hoping that ſhe his Eldeſt could not but have more pity on his Gray Hairs: but ſhe now refuſes to admit him unleſs he be content with one only of his followers. At laſt the remembrance of his youngeſt *Cordeilla* comes to his thoughts; and now acknowledging how true her words had bin, though with little hope from whom he had ſo injur'd, be it but to pay her the laſt recompence ſhe can have from him, his confeſſion of her wiſe forewarning, that ſo perhaps his miſery, the prooff and experiment of her Wiſdom, might ſomthing ſoft'n her, he takes his Journey into *France*. Now might be ſeen a difference between the ſilent or down-right ſpok'n affection of ſom Children to their Parents, and the talkative obſequiouſneſs of others; while the hope of Inheritance over-acts them, and on the tongues end enlarges their duty. *Cordeilla* out of meer love, without the ſuſpicion of expected reward, at the meſſage only of her Father in diſtreſs, powers forth true filial tears. And not enduring either that her own, or any other Eye ſhould ſee him in ſuch forlorn condition as his Meſſenger declar'd, diſcreetly appoints one of her truſted Servants, firſt to convay him privately toward ſom good Sea Town there to array him, bathe him, cheriſh him, furniſh him with ſuch Attendants and State, as beſeem'd his Dignity. That then, as from his firſt Landing, he might ſend word of his Arrival to her Husband *Aganippus*. Which

don

don with all mature, and requiſite contrivance, *Cordeilla* with the King her Husband, and all the Barony of his Realm, who then firſt had news of his paſſing the Sea, goe out to meet him; and after all honourable and joyful entertainment, *Aganippus*, as to his Wives Father, and his Royal Gueſt, ſurrenders him, during his abode there, the Power and diſpoſal of his whole Dominion: permitting his Wife *Cordeilla* to go with an Army, and ſet her Father upon his Throne. Wherin her piety ſo proſper'd, as that ſhe vanquiſh'd her impious Siſters with thoſe Dukes, and *Leir* again, as ſaith the ſtory, three years obtain'd the Crown. To whom dying, *Cordeilla* with all Regal Solemnities gave Burial in the Town of *Leiceſtre*. And then as right Heir ſucceeding, and her Husband dead, Rul'd the Land five years in Peace, Untill *Marganus* and *Cunedagius* her two Siſters Sons, not bearing that a Kingdom ſhould be govern'd by a Woman, in that unſeaſonableſt time to raiſe that quarrel againſt a Woman ſo worthy, make War againſt her, depoſe her, and impriſon her; of which impatient, and now long unexercis'd to ſuffer, ſhe there, as is related, kill'd her ſelf. The Victors between them part the Land: but *Marganus* the Eldeſt Siſters Son who held by agreement from the North-ſide of *Humber* to *Cathneſs*, incited by thoſe about him, to invade all as his own right, warres on *Cunedagius*; who ſoon meet him, overcame, and overtook him in a Town of *Wales*, where he left his life, and ever ſince his name to the place. *Cune-*

Cunedagius was now sole King, and govern'd with much praise many years; about the time when *Rome* was built. Him succeeded *Rivallo* his Son, wise also and fortunat; save what they tell us of three daies raining blood, and swarms of stinging Flies, whereof men dy'd. In order then *Gurguſtius*, *Jago* or *Lago*, his Nefew; *Sisillius*, *Kinmarcus*. Then *Gorbogudo*, whom others name *Gorbodego*, and *Gorbodion*, who had two Sons, *Ferrex*, and *Porrex*. They in the old Age of thir Father falling to contend who should succeed, *Porrex* attempting by treachery his Brothers life, drives him into *France*; and in his return, though aided with the Force of that Country, defeats and slaies him. But by his Mother *Videna* who less lov'd him, is himself, with the assistance of her Women, soon after slain in his Bed: With whom ended, as is thought, the Line of *Brutus* Whereupon, the whole Land with Civil Broils was rent into Five Kingdoms, long time waging Warr each on other; and som say 50 Years. At length *Dunwallo Molmutius* the Son of *Cloten King of Cornwall*, one of the foresaid five, excelling in valour, and goodlines of person, after his Fathers decease found means to reduce again the whole Iland into a Monarchy: subduing the rest at opportunities. First, *Ymner King of Loegria* whom he slew; then *Rudaucus of Cambria*, *Staterius of Albania*, confederat together. In which fight *Dunwallo* is reported, while the Victory hung doubtfull, to have us'd this Art. He takes with him 600 stout men, bids them put on the Armour

Armour of the ſlain Enemies; and ſo unexpectedly approaching the Squadron, where thoſe two Kings had plac'd themſelves in fight, from that part which they thought ſecureſt, aſſaults, and diſpatches them. Then diſplaying his own Enſignes which before he had conceal'd, and ſending notice to the other part of his Army what was don, adds to them new courage, and gains a final Victory. This *Dunwallo was the firſt in Britan that wore a Crown of Gold; and therefore by ſom reputed the firſt King.* He eſtabliſhed the *Molmutine* Laws, famous among the *Engliſh* to this day; writt'n long after in Latine by *Gildas*, and in Saxon by King *Alfred*: ſo ſaith *Geofrey*, but *Gildas* denies to have known aught of the *Britans* before *Cæſar*; much leſs knew *Alfred*. Theſe Laws, whoever made them, beſtow'd on Temples the privilege of Sanctuary; to Cities alſo, and the waies thether leading, yea to Plows granted a kind of like refuge: and made ſuch riddance of Theeves and Robbers, that all paſſages were ſafe. Forty Years he Govern'd alone, and was buried nigh to *the Temple of Concord*; which he, to the memory of peace reſtor'd, had built in *Trinovant.*

His two Sons *Belinus* and *Brennus* contending about the Crown, by deciſion of Friends came at length to an accord; *Brennus* to have the North of *Humber*, *Belinus* the Sovrantie of all. But the younger not long ſo contented, that he, as they whiſper'd to him, whoſe valour had ſo oft repell'd the invaſions of *Ceulphus the Morine Duke*, ſhould now be ſubject to his

his Brother, upon new Designe sails into *Norway*; enters League and Affinitie with *Elsing* that King; which *Belinus* perceaving in his absence dispossesses him of all the North. *Brennus* with a Fleet of *Norwegians* makes toward *Britan*; but encounter'd by *Guithlac* the *Danish King*, who laying claim to his Bride, pursu'd him on the Sea, his hast was retarded, and he bereft of his Spouse: who from the fight by a sudden Tempest, was by the *Danish King* driv'n on *Northumberland*, and brought to *Belinus*. *Brennus* nevertheless recollecting his Navy, lands in *Albania*, and gives Battel to his Brother in the Wood *Calaterium*; but losing the day, escapes with one single Ship into *Gaul*. Mean while the *Dane* upon his own offer to become tributary, sent home with his new prise, *Belinus* returns his thoughts to the administring of Justice, and the perfeting of his Fathers Laws; and to explain what High-ways might enjoy the forsaid privilegies, he caus'd to be drawn out and pav'd four main Roads to the utmost length and bredth of the Iland; and two others athwart; which are since attributed to the *Romans*. *Brennus* on the other side solliciting to his aid the Kings of *Gaul*, happ'ns at last on *Seginus Duke of the Allobroges*; where his worth, and comlinesse of person wan him the Dukes Daughter and Heir. In whose right he shortly succeeding, and by obtain'd leave passing with a great Host through the length of *Gaul*, gets footing once again in *Britan*. Nor was *Belinus* unprepar'd, and now the Battel ready

to

to joyn *Conuvenna* the Mother of them both all in a fright, throws her self between; and calling earnestly to *Brennus* her Son, whose absence had so long depriv'd her of his sight, after imbracements and tears, assails him with such a motherly power, and the mention of things so dear and reverend, as irresistibly wrung from him all his enmity against *Belinus*.

Then are hands joyn'd, reconciliation made firm, and Counsel held to turn thir united preparations on Foren parts. Thence that by these two all *Gallia* was overrun, the story tells; and what they did in *Italy*, and at *Rome*, if these be they, and not *Gauls*, who took that City, the Roman Authors can best relate. So far from home I undertake not for the *Monmouth Chronicle*; which heer against the stream of History carries up and down these Brethren, now into *Germany*, then again to *Rome*, pursuing *Gabius* and *Porsena*, two unheard of Consuls. Thus much is more generally beleev'd, that both this *Brennus*, and another famous Captain, *Britomarus*, whom the Epitomist *Florus* and others mention, were not *Gauls* but *Britans*; the Name of the first in that Tongue signifying a King, and of the other a Great *Britan*. However *Belinus* after a while returning home, the rest of his daies rul'd in Peace, Wealth, and Honour above all his Predecessors; building som Cities, of which one was *Caeroſe* upon *Oſca*, since *Caerlegion*; beautifying others, as *Trinovant* with a Gate, a Hav'n, and a Towr, on the Thames, retaining yet his name; on the top whereof his Ashes

are

are ſaid to have bin laid up in a Golden Urne.

After him *Gurguntius Barbirus* was King, mild and juſt, but yet inheriting his Fathers Courage, he ſubdu'd the *Dacian* or *Dane*, who refus'd to pay the Tribute Covnanted to *Belinus* for his enlargment. In his return finding about the *Orkneis* 30 ſhips of *Spain*, or *Biſcay*, fraught with Men and Women for a Plantation, whoſe Captain alſo *Bartholinus* wrongfully baniſh'd, as he pleaded, beſaught him that ſome part of his Territory might be aſſign'd them to dwell in, he ſent with them certain of his own men to *Ireland*, which then lay unpeopl'd; and gave them that Iland to hold of him as in Homage. He was buried in *Caerlegion*, a City which he had wall'd about.

Guitheline his Son, is alſo remember'd, as a juſt and good Prince, and his Wife *Martia* to have excell'd ſo much in wiſdom as to venture upon a new Inſtitution of Laws. Which *King Alfred* Tranſlating call'd *Marchen Leage*, but more truly therby is meant, the Mercian Law; not tranſlated by *Alfred*, but digeſted or incorporated with the Weſt-Saxon. In the minority of her Son ſhe had the rule, and then, as may be ſuppoſs'd, brought forth theſe Laws, not her ſelf, for Laws are Maſculin Births, but by the advice of her ſageſt Counſelors; and therin ſhe might doe vertuouſly, ſince it befell her to ſupply the nonage of her Son: elſe nothing more awry from the Law of God and Nature, than that a Woman ſhould give Laws to Men.

Hir Son *Siſillius* comming to Years receav'd the

the Rule; then in order *Kimarus*, then *Danius* or *Elanius* his Brother. Then *Morindus*, his Son by *Tangueſtela* a Concubine, who is recorded a man of exceſſive Strength, Valiant, Liberal, and fair of Aſpect, but immanely Cruell; not ſparing in his Anger, Enemy, or Friend, if any Weapon were in his hand. A certain *King of the Morines*, or *Picards* invaded *Northumberland*; whoſe Army this King, though not wanting ſufficient numbers, cheifly by his own proweſs overcame: But dishonour'd his Victory by the cruel uſage of his Priſoners, whom his own hands, or others in his preſence put all to ſeveral Deaths: well fitted to ſuch a beſtial Cruelty was his end; for hearing of a huge Monſter, that from the Iriſh Sea infeſted the Coaſt, and in the Pride of his Strength fooliſhly attempting to ſet manly valour againſt a Brute vaſtneſs, when his Weapons were all in vain, by that horrible mouth he was catch't up and devour'd.

Gorbonian the Eldeſt of his five Sons, than whom a Juſter man liv'd not in his Age, was a great builder of Temples, and gave to all what was thir due; to his Gods devout Worſhip, to men of deſert honour and preferment; to the Commons encouragement in thir Labours, and Trades, defence and protection from injuries and oppreſſions, ſo that the Land floriſh'd above her Neighbours, Violence and Wrong ſeldom was heard of: his Death was a general loſs: he was buried in *Trinovant*. *Archigallo* the ſecond Brother follow'd not his Example; but depreſs'd the ancient Nobility,

and by peeling the wealthier sort, stuff'd his Treasury, and took the right way to be depos'd. *Elidure* the next Brother, surnam'd the Pious, was set up in his place; a mind so noble, and so moderate, as almost is incredible to have bin ever found. For having held the Scepter five Years, hunting one day in the Forest of *Calater*, he chanc'd to meet his deposed Brother, wandring in mean condition: who had bin long in vain beyond the Seas, importuning Foren aides to his Restorement: and was now in a poor Habit, with only ten followers, privatly return'd to find subsistence among his secret friends. At the unexpected sight of him, *Elidure* himself also then but thinly accompanied, runs to him with open Arms; and after many dear and sincere welcomings, convaies him to the City *Alclud*; there hides him in his own Bed-Chamber. Afterwards faining himself sick, summons all his Peers, as about greatest affairs; where admitting them one by one, as if his weakness endur'd not the disturbance of more at once, causes them willing, or unwilling, once more to swear Allegiance to *Archigallo*. Whom, after reconciliation made on all sides, he leads to *York*; and from his own Head, places the Crown on the head of his Brother. Who thenceforth, Vice it self dissolving in him, and forgetting her firmest hold with the admiration of a deed so Heroic, became a true converted man; rul'd worthily 10 Years; dy'd, and was Buried in *Caerleir*. Thus was a Brother sav'd by a Brother, to whom love of a Crown

Crown, the thing that so often dazles, and vitiates mortal men, for which, thousands of neerest blood have destroy'd each other, was in respect of Brotherly dearness, a contemptible thing. *Elidure* now in his own behalf re-assumes the Government, and did as was worthy such a man to doe. When Providence, that so great vertue might want no sort of tryal to make it more illustrious, stirs up *Vigenius*, and *Peredure* his youngest Brethren, against him who had deserv'd so nobly of that relation, as least of all by a Brother to be injur'd. Yet him they defeat, him they Imprison in the Tower of *Trinovant*, and divide his Kingdom; the North to *Peredure*, the South to *Vigenius*. After whose Death *Peredure* obtaining all, so much the better us'd his power, by how much the worse he got it. So that *Elidure* now is hardly miss't. But yet in all right owing to his Elder the due place whereof he had depriv'd him, Fate would that he should die first: and *Elidure* after many years Imprisonment, is now the third time seated on the Throne; which at last he enjoy'd long in Peace; finishing the interrupted course of his mild, and just Reign, as full of vertuous deeds, as daies to his end. After these five Sons of *Morindus*, succeeded also thir Sons in Order. * *Regin of Gorbonian*, *Marganus of Archigallo*, both good Kings. But *Enniaunus* his Brother taking other courses, was after six years depos'd. Then *Idwallo* taught by a neer Example, Govern'd soberly. Then *Runno*, then *Geruntius*, He of *Peredure*, this last the

* *Matthew of Westmin.*

Son of *Elidure*. From whose Loyns (for that likely is the durable, and surviving Race that springs of just Progenitors) issu'd a long descent of Kings, whose names only for many successions without other memory stand thus register'd, *Catellus*, *Coillus*, *Porrex*, *Cherin*, and his three Sons, *Fulgenius*, *Eldadus*, and *Andragius*, his Son *Urianus*; *Eliud*, *Eledaucus*, *Clotenus*, *Gurgustius*, *Merianus*, *Bleduno*, *Capis*, *Oenus*, *Sisillius*, twentie Kings in a continu'd row, that either did nothing, or liv'd in Ages that wrote nothing, at least a foul pretermission in the Author of this, whether Story or Fable; himself wearie, as seems, of his own tedious Tale.

But to make amends for this Silence, *Blegabredus* next succeeding, is recorded to have excell'd all before him in the Art of Music; opportunely, had he but left us one Song of his twentie Predecessors doings. Yet after him nine more succeeded in name; His Brother *Archimailus*, *Eldol*, *Redion*, *Rederchius*, *Samulius*, *Penissel*, *Pir*, *Capoirus*, but *Cliguellius*, with the addition of Modest, Wise, and Just. His Son *Heli* Reign'd 40 Years, and had three Sons, *Lud*, *Cassibelaun*, and *Nennius*. This *Heli* seems to be the same whom *Ninnius* in his fragment calls *Minocan*; for him he writes to be the Father of *Cassibelan*. *Lud* was he that enlarg'd, and wall'd about *Trinovant*, there kept his Court, made it the prime City, and call'd it from his own name *Caer-Lud*, or *Luds Town*, now *London*: Which, as is alledg'd out of *Gildas*, became matter of great dissention

dissention betwixt him, and his Brother *Nennius*; who took it hainously that the name of *Troy* thir ancient Country should be abolish'd for any new one. *Lud* was hardy, and bold in Warr, in Peace a jolly Feaster. He conquer'd many Ilands of the Sea, saith *Huntingdon*, and was buried by the Gate which from thence wee call *Ludgate*. His two Sons *Androgeus*, and *Tenuantius*, were left to the tuition of *Cassibelan*; whose bounty, and high demeanor so wraught with the common people, as got him easily the Kingdom transferr'd upon himself. He nevertheless continuing to favour and support his Nefews, conferres freely upon *Androgeus*, *London* with *Kent*, upon *Tenuantius*, *Cornwall*: reserving a superiority both over them, and all the other Princes to himself; till the *Romans* for a while circumscrib'd his power. Thus farr, though leaning only on the credit of *Geffrey Monmouth*, and his assertors, I yet for the specify'd causes have thought it not beneath my purpose, to relate what I found. Wherto I neither oblige the belief of other person, nor over-hastily subscribe mine own. Nor have I stood with others computing, or collating Years and Chronologies, lest I should be vainly curious about the time and circumstance of things wherof the substance is so much in doubt. By this time, like one who had set out on his way by night, and travail'd through a Region of smooth or idle Dreams, our History now arrives on the Confines, where day-light and truth meet us with a clear dawn,

Huntingd. L. 1.

repreſenting to our view, though at a farr diſtance, true colours and ſhapes. For albeit, *Cæſar*, whoſe Autority we are now firſt to follow, wanted not who tax'd him of miſ-reporting in his Commentaries, yea in his Civil Wars againſt *Pompey*, much more, may wee think, in the *Britiſh affairs*, of whoſe little skill in writing he did not eaſily hope to be contradicted, yet now in ſuch variety of good Authors, we hardly can miſs from one hand or other to be ſufficiently inform'd, as of things paſt ſo long agoe. But this will better be referr'd to a ſecond Diſcourſe.

The End of the firſt Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK II.

I Am now to write of what befell the *Britans* from *fifty and three years before the Birth of our Saviour*, when first the *Romans* came in, till the decay and ceasing of that Empire; a story of much truth, and for the first hundred years and somwhat more, Collected without much labour. So many and so prudent were the Writers, which those two, the Civilest, and the Wisest of *European Nations*, both *Italy* and *Greece*, afforded to the Actions of that Puissant City. For Worthy Deeds are not often destitute of worthy Relaters: As by a certain Fate great Acts and great Eloquence have most commonly gon hand in hand, equalling and honouring each other in the same Ages. 'Tis true, that in ob-

ſcureſt times, by ſhallow and unskilfull Writers, the indiſtinct noiſe of many Battels, and Devaſtations, of many Kingdoms over-run and loſt, hath come to our Eares. For what wonder, if in all Ages, Ambition and the love of rapine hath ſtirr'd up greedy and violent men to bold attempts in waſting and ruining Warrs, which to Poſterity have left the work of Wild Beaſts and Deſtroyers, rather than the Deeds and Monuments of Men and Conquerours? But he whoſe juſt and true valour uſes the neceſſity of Warr and Dominion, not to deſtroy but to prevent deſtruction, to bring in Liberty againſt Tyrants, Law and Civility among barbarous Nations, knowing that when he Conquers all things elſe, he cannot Conquer *Time*, or *Detraction*, wiſely conſcious of this his want as well as of his worth not to be forgott'n or conceal'd, honours and hath recourſe to the aid of Eloquence, his friendlieſt and beſt ſupply; by whoſe immortal Record his Noble Deeds, which elſe were tranſitory, becoming fixt and durable againſt the force of Yeares and Generations, he fails not to continue through all Poſterity, over *Envy*, *Death*, and *Time*, alſo victorious. Therfore when the eſteem of Science, and Liberal Study waxes low in the Common-wealth, we may preſume that alſo there all Civil Vertue, and worthy Action is grown as low to a decline: and then Eloquence, as it were conſorted in the ſame deſtiny, with the decreaſe and fall of Virtue corrupts alſo and fades; at leaſt reſignes her office of relating, to illiterat and frivolous Hiſtorians;

ſtorians; ſuch as the perſons themſelves both deſerv, and are beſt pleas'd with; whilſt they want either the underſtanding to chuſe better, or the innocence to dare invite the examining, and ſearching ſtile of an intelligent and faithful Writer to the ſurvay of thir unſound exploits, better befriended by obſcurity than Fame. As for theſe, the only Authors wee have of *Brittiſh* matters, while the power of *Rome* reach'd hither (for *Gildas* affirms that of the *Roman* times noe *Brittiſh* Writer was in his daies extant, or if any ever were, either burnt by Enemies, or tranſported with ſuch as fled the *Pictiſh* and *Saxon* Invaſions) theſe therfore only *Roman* Authors there bee who in the Engliſh Tongue have laid together, as much, and perhaps more than was requiſite to a Hiſtory of *Britan.* So that were it not for leaving an unſightly gap ſo neer to the beginning, I ſhould have judg'd this labour, wherin ſo little ſeems to be requir'd above tranſcription, almoſt ſuperfluous. Notwithſtanding ſince I muſt through it, if ought by diligence may bee added, or omitted, or by other diſpoſing may be more explain'd, or more expreſs'd, I ſhall aſſay.

Julius Cæſar (of whom, and of the *Roman* Free State, more than what appertains, is not here to be diſcours'd) having ſubdu'd moſt part of *Gallia*, which by a Potent Faction, he had obtain'd of the Senate as his Province for many years, ſtirr'd up with a deſire of adding ſtill more glory to his name, and the whole *Roman* Empire to his ambition, ſom ſay, with a farr *Suetonius Vit. Cæſ.*

a far meaner and ignobler, the desire of *British* Pearls, whose bigness de delighted to ballance in his hand, determines, and that upon no unjust pretended occasion, to trie his Force in the conquest also of *Britan*. For he understood that the *Britans* in most of his *Gallian* Warrs had sent Supplies against him, had receiv'd Fugitives of the *Bellovaci* his Enemies, and were call'd over to aid the Cities of *Armorica*, which had the year before conspir'd all in a new Rebellion. Therfore *Cæsar*, thought now the Summer well nigh ending, and the season unagreeable to transport a Warr, yet judg'd it would be great advantage, only to get entrance into the *Ile*, knowledge of the men, the places, the ports, the accesses; which then, it seems, were eev'n to the *Gauls* thir Neighbours almost unknown. For except Merchants and Traders, it is not oft, saith he, that any use to Travel thether; and to those that doe, besides the Sea Coast, and the Ports next to *Gallia*, nothing else is known. But heer I must require, as *Pollio* did, the diligence, at least the memory of *Cæsar*: for if it were true, as they of *Rhemes* told him, that *Divitiacus*, not long before, a Puissant King of the *Soissons*, had *Britan* also under his Command, besides the *Belgian Colonies* which he affirms to have nam'd and peopl'd many Provinces there, if also the *Britans* had so frequently giv'n them aid in all thir Warrs, if lastly the *Druid* learning honour'd so much among them, were at first taught them out of *Britan*, and they who sooneſt would attain that

Year before Christ, 53.

Suetonius. Cæsar Com. L. 1.

that Discipline, sent hether to learn; it appears not how *Britan* at that time should be so utterly unknown in *Gallia*, or only known to Merchants, yea to them so little, that beeing call'd together from all parts, none could be found to inform *Cæsar* of what bigness the Ile, what Nations, how great, what use of Warr they had, what Laws, or so much as what commodious Havens for bigger Vessels. Of all which things as it were then first to make discovery, he sends *Caius Volusenus*, in a long Galley, with command to return assoon as this could be effected. Hee in the mean time with his whole power draws nigh to the *Morine* Coast, whence the shortest passage was into *Britan*. Hether his Navy which he us'd against the *Armoricans*, and what else of Shipping can be provided, he draws together. This known in *Britan*, Embassadors are sent from many of the States there, who promise Hostages, and Obedince to the *Roman Empire*. Them, after Audience giv'n, *Cæsar* as largely promising, and exhorting to continue in that mind, sends home, and with them *Comius of Arras*, whom he had made King of that Country, and now secretly employ'd to gain a *Roman* party among the *Britans*, in as many Cities as he found inclinable, and to tell them, that he himself was speeding thether. *Volusenus* with what discovery of the *Iland* he could make from aboard his Ship, not daring to venture on the shoar, within five daies returns to *Cæsar*. Who soon after, with two Legions, ordinarily amounting, of *Romans*

Cæsar Com. L. 4.

mans and thir Allies, to about 25000 *Foot*, *and* 45000 *Horſe*, the Foot in 80 Ships of burden, the Horſe in 18, beſides what Gallies were appointed for his Chief Commanders, ſetts off about the third watch of night with a good Gale to Sea; leaving behind him *Sulpitius Rufus* to make good the Port with a ſufficient ſtrength. But the Horſe whoſe appointed Shipping lay wind-bound eight mile upward in another Hav'n, had much trouble to Imbark. *Cæſar* now within ſight of *Britan* beholds on every Hill multitudes of armed men, ready to forbid his Landing; and *Cicero* writes to his Friend *Atticus*, that the acceſſes of the Iland were wondrouſly fortify'd with ſtrong Works or Moles. Heer from the fowrth to the ninth hour of day he awaits at Anchor the coming up of his whole Fleet: Mean while with his Legatts and Tribuns conſulting, and giving order to fitt all things for what might happ'n in ſuch a various, and floating water-fight as was to be expected. This place, which was a narrow Bay, cloſe environ'd with Hills, appearing no way Commodious, he removes to a plain and open ſhoar eight Mile diſtant; commonly ſuppos'd about *Deal in Kent*. Which when the *Britans* perceav'd thir Horſe and Chariots, as then they us'd in fight, ſcowring before, thir main powr ſpeeding after, ſom thick upon the ſhoar, others not tarrying to be aſſail'd, ride in among the Waves to encounter, and aſſault the *Romans* eev'n under thir Ships; with ſuch a bold, and free hardihood, that *Cæſar* himſelf

Cic. Att. L. 4. Ep. 17.

Camden.

ſelf between confeſſing and excuſing that his Souldiers were to com down from thir Ships, to ſtand in water heavy arm'd, and to fight at once, denies not but that the terrour of ſuch new and reſolute oppoſition made them forget thir wonted valour. To ſuccour which, he commands his Gallies, a ſight unuſual to the *Britans*, and more apt for motion, drawn from the bigger Veſſels, to row againſt the op'n ſide of the Enemy, and thence with Slings, Engines, and Darts, to beat them back. But neither yet, though amaz'd at the ſtrangeneſs of thoſe new Sea-Caſtles, bearing up ſo neer, and ſo ſwiftly as almoſt to overwhelm them, the hurtling of Oares, the battring of feirce Engines againſt thir bodies barely expos'd, did the *Britans* give much ground, or the *Romans* gain; till *he who bore the Eagle of the Tenth Legion*, yet in the Gallies, firſt beſeeching his Gods, ſaid thus alowd, *Leap down Souldiers, unleſs ye mean to betray your Enſigne; I for my part will perform what I owe to the Commonwealth and my General.* This utter'd, over-board he leaps, and with his Eagle feircly advanc'd runs upon the Enemy, the reſt hartning one another not to admit the diſhonour of ſo nigh loſing thir Chief Standard, follow him reſolutely. Now was fought eagerly on both ſides. Ours who well knew thir own advantages, and expertly us'd them, now in the ſhallows, now on the Sand, ſtill as the *Romans* went troopingto thir Enſignes, receav'd them, diſpatch'd them, and with the help of thir Horſe, put them every where to great diſorder. But *Cæſar* cauſing

sing all his Boats and Shallops to be fill'd with Souldiers, commanded to ply up and down continually with relief where they saw need; whereby at length all the Foot now dis-imbark't, and got together in som order on firm ground, with a more steddy charge put the *Britans* to flight: but wanting all thir Horse, whom the winds yet with-held from Sailing, they were not able to make pursuit. In this confused fight *Scæva a Roman Souldier*, having press'd too far among the *Britans*, and beset round, after incredible valour shewn, single against a multitude, swom back safe to his General; and in the place that rung with his praises, earnestly besought pardon for his rash adventure against Discipline: which modest confessing after no bad event, for such a deed wherein valour, and ingenuity so much out-weigh'd transgression, easily made amends, and preferr'd him to be a Centurion. *Cæsar* also is brought in by *Julian*, attributing to himself the honour (if it were at all an honour to that person which he sustain'd) of being the first that left his Ship, and took Land: but this were to make *Cæsar* less understand what became him than *Scæva*. The *Britans* finding themselves master'd in fight, forthwith send Embassadors to treat of Peace; promising to give Hostages, and to be at Command. With them *Comius of Arras* also return'd; whom hitherto since his first coming from *Cæsar*, they had detain'd in Prison as a Spy: the blame whereof they lay on the Common People; for whose violence, and thir own imprudence

Valer. Max. Plutarch.

In Cæsarib.

dence they crave pardon. *Cæsar* complaining they had first sought Peace, and then without cause had begun War, yet content to pardon them, commands Hostages: whereof part they bring in strait, others far up in the Country to be sent for, they promise in a few daies. Mean while the people disbanded and sent home, many Princes, and Chief Men from all parts of the Ile submit themselves and thir Cities to the dispose of *Cæsar*, who lay then encamp'd, as is thought, on *Baram down*. Thus had the *Britans* made thir peace; when suddenly an accident unlook'd for put new counsels into thir minds. Fowr daies after the coming of *Cæsar*, those 18 Ships of burden, which from the upper hav'n had tak'n in all the *Roman Horse*, born with a soft wind to the very Coast, in sight of the *Roman Camp*, were by a sudden tempest scatter'd, and driv'n back, some to the Port from whence they loos'd, others down into the West Country; who finding there no safety either to Land, or to cast Anchor, chose rather to commit themselves again to the troubled Sea; and as *Orosius* reports, were most of them cast away. The same night, it being Full Moon, the Gallies left upon dry Land, were unaware to the *Romans*, cover'd with a Spring-tide, and the greater Ships that lay off at Anchor, torn and beat'n with Waves, to the great perplexity of *Cæsar*, and his whole Army; who now had neither Shipping left to convay them back, nor any provision made to stay heer, intending to have winter'd in *Gallia*. All this the *Britans* well

well perceaving, and by the compaſs of his Camp, which without baggage appear'd the ſmaller, gueſſing at his numbers, conſult together, and one by one ſlily withdrawing from the Camp, where they were waiting the concluſion of a Peace, reſolve to ſtop all Proviſions, and to draw out the buſineſs till Winter. *Cæſar* though ignorant of what they intended, yet from the conditionwherein he was, and thir other Hoſtages not ſent, ſuſpecting what was likely, begins to provide apace, all that might be, againſt what might happ'n: laies in Corn, and with materials fetch'd from theContinent, and what was left of thoſe Ships which were paſt help, he repairs the reſt. So that now by the inceſſant labour of his Souldiers, all but twelv were again made ſerviceable. While theſe things are doing, one of the Legions being ſent out to forrage, as was accuſtom'd, and no ſuſpicion of Warr, while ſom of the *Britans* were remaining in the Country about, others alſo going and coming freely to the *Roman Quarters*, they who were in ſtation at the Camp Gates ſent ſpeedy word to *Cæſar*, that from that part of the Country, to which the Legion went, a greater duſt than uſual was ſeen to riſe. *Cæſar* gueſſing the matter, commands the Cohorts of Guard to follow him thether, two others to ſucceed in thir ſtead, the reſt all to arm and follow. They had not march'd long, when *Cæſar* diſcerns his Legion ſore overcharg'd: for the *Britans* not doubting but that thir Enemies on the morrow would be in that place which only they had left unreap'd

of

of all thir Harveſt, had plac'd an Ambuſh; and while they were diſperſt and buſieſt at thir labour, ſet upon them, kill'd ſom, and routed the reſt. The manner of thir fight was from a kind of Chariots; wherein riding about, and throwing Darts, with the clutter of thir Horſe, and of thir Wheels, they oft-times broke the rank of thir Enemies; then retreating among the Horſe, and quitting thir Chariots, they fought on Foot. The Charioters, in the mean while ſomwhat a ſide from the Battel, ſet themſelves in ſuch order, that thir Maiſters at any time oppreſs'd with odds, might retire ſafely thether, having perform'd with one perſon both the nimble ſervice of a Horſeman, and the ſtedfaſt duty of a Foot Souldier. So much they could with thir Chariots by uſe, and exerciſe, as riding on the ſpeed down a ſteep Hill, to ſtop ſuddenly, and with a ſhort rein turn ſwiftly, now running on the beam, now on the Yoke, then in the Seat. With this ſort of new skirmiſhing, the *Romans* now overmatch'd, and terrify'd, *Cæſar* with opportune aid appears; for then the *Britans* make a ſtand: But he conſidering that now was not fitt time to offer Battel, while his men were ſcarce recover'd of ſo late a fear, only keeps his ground, and ſoon after leads back his Legions to the Camp. Furder action for many daies following was hinder'd on both ſides by foul weather; in which time the *Britans* diſpatching Meſſengers round about, to how few the *Romans* were reduc'd, what hope of priſe and booty, and now if ever of freeing themſelvs

ſelves from the Fear of like invaſions heerafter, by making theſe an example, if they could but now uncamp thir Enemies; at this intimation multitudes of Horſe and Foot coming down from all parts make towards the *Romans*. *Cæſar* foreſeeing that the *Britans*, though beat'n and put to flight, would eaſily evade his Foot, yet with no more than 30 Horſe, which *Comius* had brought over, draws out his men to Battel, puts again the *Britans* to flight, purſues with ſlaughter, and returning burns and laies waſte all about. Wherupon Embaſſadors the ſame day being ſent from the *Britans* to deſire Peace, *Cæſar*, as his affairs at preſent ſtood, for ſo great a breach of Faith, only impoſes on them double the former hoſtages, to be ſent after him into *Gallia*: And becauſe *September* was nigh half ſpent, a ſeaſon not fit to tempt the Sea with his weather-beat'n Fleet, the ſame night with a fair wind he departs towards *Belgia*: whether two only of the *Britan* Cities ſent Hoſtages, as they promis'd, the reſt neglected. But at *Rome* when the news came of *Cæſars* Acts here, whether it were eſteem'd a Conqueſt, or a fair Eſcape, ſupplication of 20 daies is decreed by the Senate, as either for an exploit done, or a diſcovery made, wherin both *Cæſar* and the *Romans* gloried not a little, though it brought no benefit either to him, or the Common-wealth.

Dion. The Winter following, *Cæſar*, as his cuſtom was, going into *Italy*, when as he ſaw that moſt *Cæſar Com.* 5. of the *Britans* regarded not to ſend thir Hoſtages, appoints his Legats whom he left in *Belgia*,

Belgia, to provide what possible Shipping they could either build, or repair. Low built they were to bee, as therby easier both to fraught, and to hale ashoar; nor needed to be higher, because the Tyde so often changing, was observ'd to make the Billows less in our Sea than those in the *Mediterranean*: broader likewise they were made, for the better transporting of Horses, and all other fraughtage, being intended cheifly to that end. These all about 600 in a readiness, with 28 Ships of burden, and what with adventurers, and other hulks above 200, *Cotta* one of the Legates wrote them, as *Athenæus* affirms, in all 1000, *Cæsar* from Port *Iccius*, a passage of som 30 mile over, leaving behind him *Labienus* to guard the hav'n, and for other supply at need, with five Legions, though but 2000 Horse, about Sun sett hoysing saile with a slack South-West, at midnight was becalm'd. And finding when it was light, that the whole Navy lying on the current, had fal'n off from the Ile, which now they could descry on thir left hand, by the unwearied labour of his Souldiers, who refus'd not to tug the Oare, and kept course with Ships under sail, he bore up as neer as might bee, to the same place where he had landed the year before; where about noon arriving, no Enemy could be seen. For the *Britans*, which in great number, as was after know'n, had bin there, at sight of so huge a Fleet durst not abide. *Cæsar* forthwith landing his Army, and encamping to his best advantage, som notice being giv'n him by those he took, where Before the Birth of Christ, 52.

to find the Enemy, with his whole power, ſave only ten cohorts, and 300 Horſe, left to *Quintus Atrius* for the guard of his Ships, about the third watch of the ſame night marches up twelv mile into the Country. And at length by a River commonly thought the *Stowre* in *Kent*, eſpies embattail'd *the Britiſh Forces*. They with thir Horſes and Chariots advancing to the higher Banks, oppoſe the *Romans* in thir March, and begin the fight; but repuls't by the *Roman Cavalrie* give back into the Woods to a place notably made ſtrong both by Art and Nature; which, it ſeems, had bin a Fort, or Hold of ſtrength rays'd heertofore in times of Warrs among themſelvs. For entrance, and acceſs on all ſides, by the felling of huge Trees overthwart one another, was quite barr'd up; and within theſe the *Britans* did thir utmoſt to keep out the Enemy. But the Souldiers of the ſeventh Legion locking all thir Sheilds together like a rooff cloſe over head, and others rayſing a Mount, without much loſs of blood took the place, and drove them all to forſake the Woods. Purſuit they made not long, as beeing through ways unknow'n; and now ev'ning came on, which they more wiſely ſpent, in chooſing out where to pitch and fortify thir Camp that night. The next Morning *Cæſar* had but newly ſent out his Men in three Bodies to purſue, and the laſt no furder gon than yet in ſight, when Horſemen all in Poſte from *Quintus Artius* bring word to *Cæſar*, that almoſt all his Ships in a Tempeſt that night had ſuffer'd wrack,

and

and lay brok'n upon the ſhoar. *Cæſar* at this news recalls his Legions, himſelf in all haſt riding back to the Sea-ſide, beheld with his own Eyes the ruinous proſpect. About forty Veſſels were ſunk and loſt, the reſidue ſo torn, and ſhak'n, as not to be new rigg'd without much labour. Strait he aſſembles what number of Ship-wrights either in his own Legions or from beyond Sea, could be ſummon'd; appoints *Labienus* on the *Belgian* ſide to build more; and with a dreadful induſtry of ten days, not reſpiting his Souldiers day or night, drew up all his Ships, and entrench'd them round within the circuit of his Camp. This don, and leaving to thir defence the ſame ſtrength as before, he returns with his whole Forces to the ſame Wood, where he had defeated the *Britans*: who preventing him with greater powers than before, had now repoſſeſs'd themſelvs of that place, under *Caſſibelan* thir cheif Leader. Whoſe Territory from the States bordering on the Sea was divided by the *River Thames* about 80 mile inward. With him formerly other Cities had continual Warr; but now in the common danger had all made choiſe of him to be thir Generall. Heer the *Britiſh* Horſe and Charioters meeting with the *Roman* Cavalrie fought ſtoutly; and at firſt, ſomthing overmatch'd they retreat to the neer advantage of thir Woods and Hills, but ſtill follow'd by the *Romans*, made head again, cut off the forwardeſt among them, and after ſome pauſe, while *Cæſar*, who thought the days work had bid don,

was busied about the entrenching of his Camp, march out again, give feirce assault to the very Stations of his Guards and Senteries, and while the main Cohorts of two Legions that were sent to the Alarme, stood within a small distance of each other, terrify'd at the newness and the boldness of thir fight, charg'd back again through the midst, without loss of a man. Of the *Romans* that day was slain *Quintus Laberius Durus* a Tribune: the *Britans* having fought thir fill at the very entrance of *Cæsar's* Camp, and sustain'd the resistance of his whole Army entrench'd, gave over the assault. *Cæsar* heer acknowledges that the *Roman* way both of arming, and of fighting, was not so well fitted against this kind of Enemy; for that the Foot in heavy Armour could not follow thir cunning flight, and durst not by ancient Discipline stirr from thir Ensigne; and the Horse alone, disjoyn'd from the Legions, against a Foe that turn'd suddenly upon them, with a mixt encounter both of Horse and Foot, were in equal danger both following and retiring. Besides thir Fashion was, not in great bodies, and close order, but in small divisions, and open distances to make thir onset; appointing others at certain spaces, now to releev and bring off the weary, now to succeed and renew the conflict; which argu'd no small experience, and use of Arms. Next day the *Britans* afarr off upon the Hills begin to shew themselves heer and there, and though less boldly than before, to skirmish with the *Roman* Horse. But at Noon *Cæsar* having sent out

out three Legions, and all his Horſe with *Trebonius* the Legat, to ſeek fodder, ſuddenly on all ſides they ſet upon the Forragers, and charge up after them to the very Legions, and thir Standards. The *Romans* with great courage beat them back, and in the chace, beeing well ſeconded by the Legions, not giving them time either to rally, to ſtand, or to deſcend from thir Chariots as they were wont, ſlew many. From this overthrow, the *Britans*, that dwelt farder off, betook them home; and came no more after that time with ſo great a power againſt *Cæſar*. Whereof advertis'd he marches onward to the Frontiers of *Caſſibelan*, which on this ſide were bounded by the *Thames*, not paſſable except in one place and that difficult, about *Coway ſtakes weer Oatlands*, as is conjectur'd. *Camden.* Hither coming he deſcries on the other ſide great Forces of the Enemy, plac'd in good Array; the Bank ſett all with ſharp ſtakes, others in the bottom, cover'd with water; whereof the marks in *Beda*'s time, were to be ſeen, as he relates. This having learnt by ſuch as were tak'n, or had run to him, he firſt commands his Horſe to paſs over; then his Foot, who wadeing up to the neck went on ſo reſolutely, and ſo faſt, that they on the furder ſide not enduring the violence, retreated and fled. *Caſſibelan* no more now in hope to contend for Victorie, diſmiſſing all but 4000 of thoſe Charioters, through Woods, and intricate waies attends thir motion; where the *Romans* are to paſs, drives all before him; and with continual ſallies upon the Horſe, where

they leaſt expected, cutting off ſome and terrifying others, compells them ſoe cloſe together, as gave them no leave to fetch in prey or bootie without ill ſucceſs. Wherupon *Cæſar* ſtrictly commanding all not to part from the Legions, had nothing left him in his way but empty Fields and Houſes, which he ſpoil'd and burnt. Meane while the *Trinobantes* a State or Kingdome, and perhaps the greateſt then among the *Britans*, leſs favouring *Caſſibelan* ſend Embaſſadors, and yield to *Cæſar* upon this reaſon. *Immanuentius* had bin thir King: Him *Caſſibelan* had ſlaine, and purpos'd the like to *Mandubratius* his Son, whom *Oroſius* calls *Androgorius*, *Beda Androgius*; but the youth eſcaping by flight into *Gallia*, put himſelf under the protection of *Cæſar*. Theſe entreat that *Mandubratius* may be ſtill defended; and ſent home to ſucceed in his Fathers right. *Cæſar* ſends him, demands forty Hoſtages and Proviſion for his Armie, which they immediately bring in, and have thir Confines protected from the Souldier. By thir Example the *Cenimagni*, *Segontiaci*, *Ancalites*, *Bibroci*, *Caſſi* (ſo I write them from the modern names are but gueſs'd) on like terms make thir peace. By them he learns that the Town of *Caſſibelan*, ſuppos'd to be *Verulam*, was not farr diſtant; fenc't about with Woods and Marſhes, well ſtuff't with Men and much Cattle. For Towns then in *Britain* were only Wooddy places ditch't round, and with a Mud Wall encompaſs'd againſt the inrodes of Enemies. Thether goes *Cæſar* with his Legions, and though a place

a place of great ſtrength both by Art and Nature, aſſaults it in two places. The *Britains* after ſom defence fled out all at another end of the Town; in the flight many were taken, many ſlain, and great ſtore of Cattel found there. *Caſſibelan* for all theſe loſſes yet deſerts not himſelf; nor was yet his Authoritie ſo much impair'd, but that in *Kent*, though in a manner poſſeſt by the Enemie, his Meſſengers and Commands finde obedience anough to raiſe all the People. By his direction *Cingetorix*, *Carvilius*, *Taximagulus* and *Segonax*, *fowr Kings* Reigning in thoſe Countries which ly upon the Sea, lead them on to aſſault that Camp wherin the *Romans* had entrench'd thir Shipping: But they whom *Cæſar* left there, iſſuing out ſlew many, and took Priſners *Cingetorix* a noted Leader, without loſs of thir own. *Caſſibelan* after ſo many defeats, mov'd eſpecially by revolt of the Cities from him, thir inconſtancie and falſhood one to another, uſes mediation by *Comius of Arras* to ſend Embaſſadors about Treatie of Yeilding. *Cæſar* who had determin'd to Winter in the Continent, by reaſon that *Gallia* was unſettl'd, and not much of the Summer now behind, commands him only Hoſtages, and what yearly Tribute the Iland ſhould pay to *Rome*, forbids him to moleſt the *Trinobants*, or *Mandubratius*; and with his Hoſtages, and great number of Captives he puts to Sea, having at twice embark't his whole Armie. *At his return to* Rome, *as from a glorious enterpriſe, he offers to* Venus *the Patroneſs of his Family, a Corſlet of* *Britiſh* *Pliny.*

British Pearles. How be it other Ancient Writers have spok'n more doubtfully of *Cæsars* Victories heer; and that in plaine termes he fled from hence; for which the common Verse in *Lucan*, with divers passages heer and there in *Tacitus* is alleg'd. *Paulus Orosius*, who took what he wrote from a Historie of *Suetonius* now lost, writes that *Cæsar* in his first journey entertain'd with a sharp fight lost no small number of his Foot, and by tempest nigh all his Horse. *Dion* affirms that once in the second Expedition all his Foot were routed, *Orosius* that another time all his Horse. The *British* Author, whom I use only then when others are all silent, hath many trivial Discourses of *Cæsars* beeing heer, which are best omitted. Nor have wee more of *Cassibelan*, than what the same storie tells, how he warr'd soon after with *Androgeus*, about his Nefew slain by *Evelinus* Nefew to the other; which business at length compos'd, *Cassibelan* dies and was buried in *Torke*, *if the Monmouth Book Fable not.* But at *Cæsars* coming hither, such likelihest where the *Britans*, as the Writers of those times, and thir own actions represent them; in courage and warlike readines to take advantage by ambush or sudden onset, not inferiour to the *Romans*, nor *Cassibelan* to *Cæsar*, in Weapons, Arms, and the skill of Encamping, Embattailing, Fortifying, overmatch't; thir Weapons were a short Spear and light Target, a Sword also by thir side, thir fight somtimes in Chariots phang'd at the Axle with Iron Sithes, thir bodies most part naked, only painted

Oros. Lib. 6. cap. 7. & 9.

Dion.

Mela.

Cæsar.

painted with Woad in ſundrie figures to ſeem terrible as they thought, but pourſu'd by Enemies, not nice of thir painting to run into Bogs, worſe than *wild Iriſh* up to the Neck, and there to ſtay many daies holding a certain morſel in thir mouths no bigger then a bean, to ſuffice hunger; but that receit, and the temperance it taught, is long ſince unknown among us: thir Towns and ſtrong Holds were ſpaces of ground fenc't about with a Ditch and great Trees fell'd overthwart each other, thir buildings within were thatch't Houſes for themſelves and thir Cattell: In peace the Upland Inhabitants beſides hunting tended thir flocks and heards, but with little skill of Countrie affaires; the making of Cheeſe they commonly knew not, Woole or Flax they ſpun not, gard'ning and planting many of them knew not; clothing they had none, but what the skins of Beaſts afforded them, and that not alwaies; yet gallantrie they had, painting thir own skins with ſeveral Portratures of Beaſt, Bird, or Flower, *A Vanitie which hath not yet left us, remov'd only from the skin to the skirt behung now with as many colour'd Ribans and Gewgawes*; towards the Sea ſide they till'd the ground, and liv'd much after the manner of *Gaules* thir Neighbours, or firſt Planters: thir money was brazen Pieces or iron Rings, thir beſt Merchandiſe Tin, the reſt trifles of Glaſs, Ivorie and ſuch like; yet Gemms and Pearles they had, ſaith *Mela*, in ſom Rivers: thir Ships of light timber wickerd with Oyſier between, and cover'd over with Leather, ſerv'd not therefore

Herodian. *Dion.* *Cæſar.* *Strabo.* *Dion.* *Strabo.* *Herodian.* *Solinus.* *Cæſar.* *Tacitus, Diodor. Strab.* *Lucan.*

therefore to transport them far, and thir Commodities were fetch't away by Foren Merchants: thir dealing, saith *Diodorus*, plain and simple without fraude; thir Civil Government under many Princes and States, not confederate or consulting in common, but mistrustful, and oft-times warring one with the other, which gave them up one by one an easie Conquest to the *Romans*: thir Religion was govern'd by a sort of Priests or Magicians call'd *Druides* from the Greek name of an *Oke*, which Tree they had in great reverence, and the *Missleto* especially growing theron; *Plinie* writes them skill'd in Magic no less than those of *Persia*: by thir abstaining from a Hen, a Hare, and a Goose, from Fish also, *saith Dion*, and thir Opinion of the Soules passing after Death into other Bodies, they may be thought to have studied *Pythagoras*; yet Philosophers I cannot call them, reported Men factious and ambitious, contending somtimes about the Archpriesthood not without Civil Warr and slaughter; nor restrein'd they the People under them from a lew'd adulterous and incestuous life, ten or twelv men absurdly against Nature, possessing one woman as thir common Wife, though of neerest Kin, Mother, Daughter, or Sister; Progenitors not to be glori'd in. But the Gospel, not long after preach'd heer abolish'd such impurities, and of the *Romans* we have cause not to say much worse, than that they beate us into som civilitie; likely else to have continu'd longer in a barbarous and savage manner of life. After *Julius* (for *Julius* before

Tacitus. *Mela.* *Dion.* *Cæsar.* *Cæsar.*

before his Death tyrannously had made himself Emperor of the *Roman* Common-wealth, and was slaine in the Senate for so doing) he who next obtain'd the Empire, *Octavianus Cæsar Augustus*, either contemning the *Iland*, as *Strabo* would have us think, whose neither benefit was worth the having, nor enmitie worth the fearing; or out of a wholsome State-maxim, as som say, to moderate and bound the Empire from growing vast and unweildie, made no attempt against the *Britans*. But the truer cause was partly civil Warr among the *Romans*, partly other affairs more urging. For about 20 Years after, all which time the *Britans* had liv'd at thir own dispose, *Augustus* in imitation of his Uncle *Julius*, either intending or seeming to intend an expedition hither, was com into *Gallia*, when the news of a Revolt in *Pannonia* diverted him: About seven year after in the same Resolution, what with the unsettl'dness of *Gallia*, and what with Embassadors from *Britain* which met him there, he proceeded not. The next year, difference arising about Covnants, he was again prevented by other new Commotions in *Spain*. Nevertheless some of the *British Potentates* omitted not to seek his friendship by guifts offer'd in the Capitol, and other obsequious addresses. Insomuch that the whole *Iland* became eev'n in those daies well known to the *Romans*; too well perhaps for them, who from the knowledge of us were so like to prove Enemies. But as for Tribute, the *Britans* paid none to *Augustus*, except what easie Customes were levied

Strabo L. 2.

Year before the Birth of Christ, 32.

Dion. L. 49.

Year before the Birth of Christ, 25.

Dion. L. 53. 24.

Strabo L. 4.

on

on the slight Commodities wherewith they traded into *Gallia*. After *Cassibelan*, *Tenantius* the younger Son of *Lud*, according to the *Monmouth* Storie was made King. For *Androgeus* the Elder, conceaving himself generally hated, for sideing with the *Romans*, forsook his claime heer, and follow'd *Cæsars* Fortune. *This King is recorded Just and Warlike.* His Son *Kymbeline* or *Cunobeline* succeeding, was brought up, as is said, in the Court of *Augustus*, and with him held friendly correspondencies to the end; was a warlike Prince; his Chief Seat *Camalodunum*, or *Maldon*, as by certain of his Coines yet to be seen, appears. *Tiberius* the next Emperor, adhering alwaies to the advice of *Augustus*, and of himself less careing to extend the Bounds of his Empire, sought not the *Britans*; and they as little to incite him, sent home courteously the Souldiers of *Germanicus*, that by Shipwrack had bin cast on the *Britan shoar*. But *Caligula* his Successor, a wild and dissolute Tyrant, haveing past the *Alpes* with intent to rob and spoile those Provinces, & stirr'd up by *Adminius* the Son of *Cunobeline*, who by his Father banish'd, with a small number fled thether to him, made semblance of marching toward *Britan*; but beeing come to the Ocean, and there behaveing himself madly, and ridiculously, went back the same way: yet sent before him boasting Letters to the Senate, as if all *Britan* had bin yeilded him. *Cunobeline* now dead, *Adminius* the Eldest by his Father banish'd from his Country, and by his own practice against it, from the Crown, though

Tacit. an. L. 2. Year after the Birth of Christ, 16. *Dion. Sueton. Cal. An. Dom.* 40.

though by an old Coine seeming to have also reign'd; *Togodumnus*, and *Caractacus* the two younger, uncertaine whether equal or subordinat in power, were advanc'd into his place. But through civil discord, *Bericus* (what he was furder, is not known) with others of his party flying to *Rome*, persuaded *Claudius* the Emperor to an Invasion. *Claudius* now Consul the third time, and desirous to do something, whence he might gain the honour of a Triumph, at the persuasion of these fugitives, whom the *Britans* demanding, he had deny'd to render, and they for that cause had deny'd furder amity with *Rome*, makes choise of *this Iland* for his Province: and sends before him *Aulus Plautius the Prætor*, with this command, if the business grew difficult to give him notice. *Plautius* with much ado persuaded the Legions to move out of *Gallia*, murmuring that now they must be put to make Warr beyond the Worlds End; for so they counted *Britan*; and what welcome *Julius* the Dictator found there, doubtless they had heard. At last prevail'd with, and hoysing saile from three several Ports, lest thir Landing should in any one place be resisted, meeting cross winds, they were cast back and disheartn'd: till in the night a Meteor shooting flames from the East, and, as they fansi'd, directing thir course, they took heart again to try the Sea, and without opposition Landed. For the *Britans* haveing heard of thir unwillingness to come, had bin negligent to provide against them; and retireing to the Woods and Moares, intended to frustrate,

Dion. 43. *Sueton.*

ſtrate, and wear them out with delaies, as they had ſerv'd *Cæſar* before. *Plautius* after much trouble to find them out; encountring firſt with *Caractacus*, then with *Togodumnus*, overthrew them; and receaving into conditions part of the *Boduni*, who then were ſubject to the *Catuellani*, and leaving there a Garriſon, went on toward a River; where the *Britans* not imagining that *Plautius* without a bridge could paſs, lay on the furder ſide careleſs and ſecure. But he ſending firſt the *Germans*, whoſe cuſtome was, arm'd as they were, to ſwim with eaſe the ſtrongeſt current, commands them to ſtrike eſpecially at the Horſes, whereby the Chariots, wherein conſiſted thir chief art of fight, became unſerviceable. To ſecond them he ſent *Veſpatian*, who in his later daies obtain'd the Empire, and *Sabinus* his Brother; who unexpectedly aſſailing thoſe who were leaſt aware, did much execution. Yet not for this were the *Britans* diſmaid; but reuniteing the next day fought with ſuch a courage, as made it hard to decide which way hung the Victorie: till *Caius Sidius Geta*, at point to have bin tak'n, recover'd himſelf ſo valiantly, as brought the day on his ſide; for which at *Rome* he receav'd high honours. After this the *Britans* drew back toward the mouth of *Thames*, and acquainted with thoſe places, croſs'd over, where the *Romans* following them through bogs and dangerous flats, hazarded the loſs of all. Yet the *Germans* getting over, and others by a bridge at ſome place above, fell on them again with ſundry Alarmes and great

great slaughter; but in the heat of pursuit running themselves again into Bogs and Mires, lost as many of thir own. Upon which ill success, and seeing the *Britans* more enrag'd at the Death of *Togodumnus*, who in one of these Battels had bin slain, *Plautius* fearing the worst, and glad that he could hold what he held, as was enjoyn'd him, sends to *Claudius*. He who waited ready with a huge preparation, as if not safe anough amidst the flowr of all his *Romans*, like a great Eastern King, with armed Elephants marches through *Gallia*, So full of peril was this enterprise esteem'd, as not without all this Equipage, and stranger terrors than *Roman* Armies to meet the Native and the naked *British Valour* defending their Country. Joyn'd with *Plautius* who encamping on the Bank of *Thames* attended him, he passes the River. The *Britans*, who had the courage, but not the wise conduct of old *Cassibelan*, laying all Stratagem aside, in down right Manhood scrupl'd not to affront in op'n field almost the whole Powr of the *Roman Empire*. But overcome and vanquish'd, part by force, others by treatie com in and yeild. *Claudius* therfore who took *Camalodunum*, the Royal Seat of *Cunobeline*, was oft'n by his Armie saluted *Imperator*; a Militarie Title which usually they gave thir General after any notable exploit; but to others not above once in the same Warr; as if *Claudius* by these Acts had deserv'd more than the Laws of *Rome* had provided honour to reward. Having therfore disarm'd the *Britans*, but remitted the confis- *Dion L. 60.*

cation of thir goods, for which they worshipp'd
Tacit. an. 14. 44. him with Sacrifice and Temple as a God, leaving *Plautius* to subdue what remain'd; he returns to *Rome*, from whence he had bin absent only six moneths, and in *Britan* but 16 daies; sending the news before him of his Victories, though in a small part of the *Iland*. To whom the Senate, as for atchievments of highest merit, decree'd excessive honours; *Arches*, *Triumphs*, *annual Solemnities*, *and the Sirname of Britannicus both to him and his Son*. *Suetonius* writes that *Claudius* found heer no resistance, and that all was done without stroke: but this seems not probable. *The Monmouth Writer* names these two Sons of *Cunobeline*, *Guiderius*, and *Arviragus*; that *Guiderius* beeing slain in fight, *Arviragus* to conceale it, put on his Brothers Habillements, and in his person held up the Battel to a Victorie; the rest, as of *Hamo* the *Roman Captain*, *Genuissa* the Emperours Daughter, and such like stuff, is too palpably untrue to be worth rehersing in the midst of Truth. *Plautius* after this, employing his fresh Forces to Conquer on, and quiet the rebelling Countries, found work anough to deserve at his returne a kind of Tryumphant riding into
Suetonius. Claud. 5. 24. *the Capitol* side by side with the Emperour. *Vespatian* also under *Plautius* had thirtie conflicts with the Enemie; in one of which encompass'd and in great danger, he was valiantly
Sueton. Vesp. Dion. L. 60. 47. and pioully rescu'd by his Son *Titus*: Two powerfull Nations he subdu'd heer, above 20 Townes and *the Ile of Wight*; for which he receaved at *Rome* Tryumphal Ornaments, and other

other great Dignities. *For that Cittie in reward of vertue was ever magnificent: and long after when true merit was ceas'd among them, leſt any thing reſembling vertue ſhould want honour, the ſame rewards were yet allow'd to the very ſhadow and oſtentation of merit.* *Oſtorius* in the room of *Plautius* Vice-prætor, met with turbulent affaires; the *Britans* not ceaſing to vex with inrodes all thoſe Countries that were yeilded to the *Romans*; and now the more eagerly, ſuppoſing that the new General unacquainted with his Armie, and on the edge of Winter, would not haſtily oppoſe them. But he waighing that firſt Events were moſt available to breed fear or contempt, with ſuch cohorts as were next at hand ſets out againſt them: whom having routed, ſo cloſe he follows, as one who meant not to be everie day moleſted with the cavils of a ſlight peace, or an emboldn'd Enemie. Leſt they ſhould make head again, he diſarmes whom he ſuſpects; and to ſurround them, places many Garriſons upon the Rivers of *Antona* and *Sabrina*. But the *Icenians*, a ſtout People untouch'd yet by theſe Warrs, as having before ſought alliance with the *Romans*, were the firſt that brook'd not this. By thir example others riſe; and in a choſen place, fenc't with high Banks of Earth, and narrow Lanes to prevent the Horſe, warily Encampe. *Oſtorius*, though yet not ſtrengthn'd with his Legions, cauſes the Auxiliar Bands, his Troops alſo allighting, to aſſault the rampant. They within though peſter'd with thir own number, ſtood to it like Men reſolv'd, and in a narrow 50. *Tacitus an.* 12.

compaſs did remarkable deeds. But overpowerd at laſt, and others by thir ſucceſs quieted, who till then waverd, *Oſtorius* next bends his Force upon the *Cangians*, waſting all eeven to the Sea of *Ireland*, without Foe in his way, or them, who durſt, ill handl'd; when the *Brigantes* attempting new matters, drew him back to ſettle firſt what was unſecure behind him. They, of whom the chief were puniſh'd, the reſt forgiv'n, ſoon gave over, but the *Silures* no way tractable were not to be repreſs'd without a ſet Warr. To furder this, *Camalodunum* was planted with a Colony of *Veteran Souldiers* to be a firme and readie aid againſt revolts, and a means to teach the Natives *Roman* Law and Civilitie. *Cogidunus* alſo a *Britiſh King*, thir faſt friend, had to the ſame intent certain Cities giv'n him: a haughtie craft, which the *Romans* us'd, to make Kings alſo the ſervile agents of enſlaving others. But the *Silures* hardie of themſelves, rely'd more on the valour of *Caractacus*; whom many doubtfull, many proſperous ſucceſſes had made eminent above all that rul'd in *Britan.* He adding to his courage Policie, and knowing himſelf to be of ſtrength inferiour, in other advantages the better; makes the Seat of his Warr among the *Ordovices*; a Country wherein all the odds were to his own Partie, all the difficulties to his Enemie. The Hills and every acceſs he fortifi'd with heaps of Stones, and guards of men; to come at whom a River of unſafe paſſage muſt be firſt waded. The place, as *Camden conjectures*, had thence the name of *Caer-*

Tacit. vit. Agric.

Caradoc

Caradoc on the West edge of Shropshire. He himself continually went up and down, animating his Officers and Leaders, *that this was the day, this the field either to defend their Libertie, or to die free*; calling to mind the names of his glorious Ancestors who drove *Cæsar* the Dictator out of *Britan*, whose valour hitherto had preserv'd them from bondage, thir Wives and Children from dishonour. Inflam'd with these words, they all vow thir utmost, with such undaunted resolution as amaz'd the *Roman General*; but the Souldier less waighing, because less knowing, clamour'd to be lead on against any danger. *Ostorius* after wary circumspection bidds them pass the River: the *Britans* no sooner had them within reach of thir Arrows, Darts, and Stones, but slew and wounded largly of the *Romans*. They on the other side closing thir ranks, and over head closing thir Targetts, threw down the loose rampiers of the *Britans*, and pursue them up the Hills both light arm'd, and Legions; till what with galling Darts and heavie strokes, the *Britans* who wore neither Helmet nor Cuiras to defend them, were at last overcome. This the *Romans* thought a famous Victorie; wherein the Wife and Daughter of *Caractacus* were tak'n, his Brothers also reduc'd to obedience; himself escaping to *Cartismandua Queen of the Brigantes*, against faith giv'n was to the Victors deliver'd bound: having held out against the *Romans nine years*, *saith Tacitus*, but by truer computation, *seaven*. Whereby his name was up through all the adjoyning Provinces, eev'n

to *Italy* and *Rome*: many desiring to see who he was, that could withstand so many years the *Romans* Puissance: and *Cæsar* to extoll his own Victorie, extoll'd the Man whom he had vanquish'd. Beeing brought to *Rome*, the people as to a Solemn spectacle were call'd together, the Emperors Guard stood in Armes. In order came first the Kings Servants, bearing his Trophies won in other Warrs, next, his Brothers, Wife, and Daughter, last himself. The behaviour of others through fear was low and degenerate: he only neither in countenance, word, or action, submissive, standing at the Tribunal of *Claudius*, breifly spake to this purpose. *If my mind*, Cæsar, *had bin as moderate in the highth of Fortune, as my Birth and Dignitie was eminent, I might have come a freind rather than a Captive into this Cittie. Nor couldst thou have dislik'd him for a Confederate, so Noble of Descent, and Ruling so many Nations. My present estate to me disgraceful, to thee is glorious, I had Riches, Horses, Armes, and Men; no wonder then if I contended, not to lose them. But if by Fate, yours only must be Empire, then of necessitie ours among the rest must be subjection. If I sooner had bin brought to yeild, my Misfortune had bin less notorious, your Conquest had bin less renown'd, and in your severest determining of me, both will be soon forgott'n. But if you grant that I shall live, by me will live to you for ever that praise which is so neer divine, the clemency of a Conquerour.* *Cæsar* mov'd at such a spectacle of Fortune, but especially at the nobleness of his bearing it, gave him pardon, and to all the rest.

reſt. They all unbound, ſubmiſſely thank him, and did like reverence to *Agrippina* the Emperors Wife, who ſat by in State: a new and diſdained ſight to the manly eyes of *Romans*, a Woman ſitting public in her Female pride among Enſignes and Armed Cohorts. To *Oſtorius* Triumph is decreed; and his Acts eſteemed equall to theirs, that brought in Bonds to *Rome* famouſeſt Kings. But the ſame proſperitie attended not his later Actions heer. For the *Silures*, whether to reveng thir loſs of *Caractacus*, or that they ſaw *Oſtorius*, as if now all were done, leſs earneſt to reſtrain them, beſett the Prefect of his Camp, left there with Legionarie Bands to appoint Garriſons: and had not ſpeedie aid com in from the neighbouring Holds and Caſtles, had cutt them all off; notwithſtanding which, the *Præfect with eight Centurions*, and many thir ſtouteſt Men were ſlaine: and upon the neck of this, meeting firſt with *Roman* Forragers, then with other Troops haſting to thir releif, utterly foyl'd and broke them alſo. *Oſtorius* ſending more after, could hardly ſtay thir flight; till the waighty Legions coming on, at firſt poys'd the Battel, at length turn'd the Scale: to the *Britans* without much loſs; for by that time it grew night. Then was the Warr ſhiverd as it were into ſmall frayes and bickerings; not unlike ſometimes to ſo many robberies, in Woods, at Waters, as chance or valour, advice or raſhneſs led them on, commanded or without command. That which moſt exaſperated the *Silures*, was a report of

certain words cast out by the *Emperor*, *That he would root them out to the verie name.* Therfore two Cohorts more of Auxiliars, by the avarice of thir Leaders too securely pillageing, they quite intercepted: and bestowing liberally the Spoils and Captives, wherof they took plentie; drew other Countries to joyne with them. These losses falling so thick upon the *Romans*, *Ostorius* with the thought, and anguish therof ended his daies: the *Britans* rejoycing, although no Battel, that yet adverse Warr had worne out so great a Souldier. *Cæsar* in his place ordains *Aulus Didius:* but ere his coming, though much hastn'd, that the Province might not want a Governour; the *Silures* had giv'n an overthrow to *Manlius Valens* with his Legion, rumor'd on both sides greater than was true; by the *Silures* to amate the new General; by him in a double respect, of the more praise if he queld them, or the more excuse if he fail'd. Mean time the *Silures* forgett not to infest the *Roman* pale with wide excursions; till *Didius* marching out, kept them somwhat more within bounds. Nor were they long to seek, who after *Caractacus* should lead them; for next to him in worth and skill of Warr, *Venutius a Prince of the Brigantes* merited to be thir chief. He at first faithfull to the *Romans*, and by them protected, was the Husband of *Cartismandua Q. of the Brigantes*, himself perhaps reigning ellewhere. She who had betray'd *Caractacus* and her Countrie to adorne the Tryumph of *Claudius*, thereby grown powerfull and gratious with the *Romans*, presuming

ming on the hire of her treason, deserted her Husband; and marrying *Vellocatus* one of his Squires, conferrs on him the Kingdom also This deed so odious and full of infamie, disturb'd the whole State: *Venutius* with other Forces, and the help of her own Subjects, who detested the Example of so foul a fact, and withall the uncomlines of thir Subjection to the Monarchie of a Woman, a peece of manhood not every day to be found among *Britans*, though shee had got by suttle train his Brother with many of his Kindred into her hands, brought her soon below the confidence of beeing able to resist longer. When imploring the *Roman* aid, with much adoe, and after many a hard encounter she escap'd the punishment which was readie to have seis'd her. *Venutius* thus debar'd the autority of ruling his own Houshold, justly turnes his anger against the *Romans* themselves; whose magnanimitie not wont to undertake dishonourable causes, had arrogantly intermeddl'd in his domestic affaires, to uphold the Rebellion of an Adultres against her Husband. And the Kingdom he retain'd against thir utmost opposition; and of Warr gave them thir fill: first in a sharpe conflict of uncertain event, then against the Legion of *Cæsius Nasica*. Insomuch that *Didius* growing old and managing the Warr by Deputies, had work anough to stand on his defence, with the gaining now and then of a small Castle. And *Nero* (for in that part of the *Ile* things continu'd in the same plight to the Reign of *Vespatian*) was minded but for shame

Tacit. vit. Agric.

Tacit. Hist. 3. Sueton.

shame to have withdrawn the *Roman* Forces out of *Britan*: In other parts whereof, about the same time, other things befell. *Verannius*, whom *Nero* sent hither to succeed *Didius*, dying in his first Year, save a few inrodes upon the *Silures*, left only a great boast behind him, *That in two years, had he liv'd, he would have Conquer'd all.* But *Suetonius Paulinus*, who next was sent hither, esteem'd a Souldier equall to the best in that age, for two years together went on prosperously; both confirming what was got, and subduing onward. At last over-confident of his present actions, and emulating others, of whose deeds he heard from abroad, marches up as farr as *Mona*, *the Ile of Anglesey*, a populous place. For they it seems had both entertain'd fugitives, and giv'n good assistance to the rest that withstood him. He makes him Boates with flat bottoms, fitted to the shallows which he expected in that narrow Frith: His Foot so pass'd over, his Horse waded or swom. Thick upon shoar stood several gross bands of men well weapn'd, many women like furies running to and fro in dismal habit with hair loose about thir shoulders, held Torches in thir hands. The *Druids*, those were thir Priests, of whome more in another place, with hands lift up to Heav'n uttering direfull praiers, astonish'd the *Romans*; who at so strange a sight stood in a-maze though wounded: at length awak'd and encourag'd by thir General, not to fear a barbarous and lunatic rout, fall on, and beat them down scorch't and rouling in thir own fire. Then were

were they yoak'd with Garrisons, and the places consecrate to thir bloodie superstitions destroi'd. For whom they took in Warr they held it lawfull to Sacrifice; and by the entrails of men us'd divination. While thus *Paulinus* had his thought still fix'd before, to goe on winning, his back lay broad op'n to occasion of losing more behind. For the *Britans* urg'd and oppress'd with many unsufferable injuries, had all banded themselves to a general revolt. The particular causes are not all writt'n by one Author; *Tacitus* who liv'd next those times of any to us extant, writes that *Prasutagus King of the Icenians* abounding in wealth had left *Cæsar* Coheir with his two Daughters; thereby hoping to have secur'd from all wrong both his Kingdom and his House; which fell out far otherwise. For under colour to oversee and take possession of the Emperours new Inheritance, his Kingdom became a prey to Centurions, his House to rav'ning Officers, his Wife *Boadicea* violated with Stripes, his Daughters with Rape, the wealthiest of his Subjects, as it were by the Will and Testament of thir King thrown out of thir Estates, his Kindred made little better than Slaves. The new Colony also at *Camalodunum* took House or Land from whome they pleas'd, terming them Slaves and Vassals; the Souldiers complying with the Colony, out of hope hereafter to use the same licence themselves. Moreover the Temple erected to *Claudius* as a badge of thir eternal slaverie, stood a great Eye-sore; the Priests whereof under pre-

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text of what was due to the Religious Service, wasted and imbezl'd each mans substance upon themselves. And *Catus Decianus* the Procurator endeavour'd to bring all thir goods within the compass of a new Confiscation, by disavowing the remittment of *Claudius*. Lastly, *Seneca*, in his Books a Philosopher, having drawn the *Britans* unwillingly to borrow of him vast summs upon faire promises of easy loan, and for repayment to take their own time, on a sudden compells them to pay in all at once with great extortion. Thus provok't by heaviest sufferings, and thus invited by opportunities in the absence of *Paulinus*, the *Icenians*, and by their Example the *Trinobantes*, and as many else as hated servitude, rise up in Armes. Of these ensuing troubles many foregoing signes appear'd: the image of Victorie at *Camalodunum* fell down of it self with her face turn'd as it were to the *Britans*; certaine Women in a kind of ecstasie foretold of Calamities to come; in the Counsel-House were heard by night barbarous noises, in the Theater hideous howlings, in the Creek horrid sights betok'ning the destruction of that Colony; heerto the Ocean seeming of a bloody hew, and human shapes at a low ebb left imprinted on the sand, wrought in the *Britans* new courage, in the *Romans* unwonted fears. *Camalodunum* where the *Romans* had seated themselves to dwell pleasantly, rather than defensively, was not fortifi'd: against that therfore the *Britans* make first assault. The Souldiers within were not very many. *Decianus* the

Dion.

the Procurator could send them but 200, these ill arm'd: and through the treachery of some among them, who secretly favour'd the insurrection, they had deferr'd both to entrench and to send out such as bore not Arms; such as did, flying to the Temple, which on the second day was forcibly tak'n, were put all to the Sword, the Temple made a heap, the rest rifl'd and burnt. *Petilius Cerealis* coming to his succour, is in his way met, and overthrown, his whole Legion cut to peeces; he with his Horse hardly escaping to the *Roman Camp*. *Decianus*, whose rapine was the cause of all this, fled into *Gallia*. But *Suetonius* at these tidings not dismay'd, through the midst of his Enemies Countrie marches to *London* (though not term'd a Colony, yet full of *Roman* Inhabitants, and for the frequency of trade and other commodities, a Town eev'n then of principal note) with purpose to have made there the seat of Warr. But considering the smallness of his numbers, and the late rashness of *Petilius*, he chooses rather with the loss of one Town to save the rest. Nor was he flexible to any prayers or weeping of them that besought him to tarry there; but taking with him such as were willing, gave signal to depart; they who through weakness of Sex or Age, or love of the place went not along, perish'd by the Enemie; so did *Verulam a Roman free Town*. For the *Britans* omitting Forts and Castles, flew thether first where richest bootie, and the hope of pillageing toald them on. In this massacre, about 70 thousand *Romans* and thir associats

ciats in the places above-mention'd, of a certaine, lofs othir lives. None might be ſpar'd, none ranſtm'd, but taſted all either a preſent or a lingring Death; no crueltie that either outrage, or the inſolence of ſucceſs putt into thir heads, was left unacted. The *Romans* Wives and Virgins hang'd up all naked, had thir Breaſts cut off, and ſow'd to thir mouths; that in the grimneſs of Death they might ſeem to eat thir own fleſh; while the *Britans* fell to feaſting and carouſing in the Temple of *Andate* thir Goddeſs of Victorie. *Suetonius* adding to his Legion other old Officers, and Souldiers therabout, which gather'd to him, were neer upon ten thouſand; and purpoſing with thoſe not to deferr Battel, had chos'n a place narrow, and not to be overwing'd, on his rear a Wood; being well inform'd that his Enemies were all in Front on a plain unapt for ambuſh: the Legionaries ſtood thick in order, impal'd with light armed; the Horſe on either Wing. The *Britans* in Companies and Squadrons were every where ſhouting and ſwarming, ſuch a multitude as at other time never; no leſs reckon'd than 200 and 30 thouſand, ſo fierce and confident of Victorie, that thir Wives alſo came in Waggons to ſit and behold the ſport, as they made full account, of killing *Romans*: a folly doubtleſs for the ſerious *Romans* to ſmile at, as a ſure tok'n of proſpering that day: a Woeman alſo was thir Commander in Chief. For *Boadicea* and her Daughters ride about in a Chariot, telling the tall Champions as a great encouragement, that

Dion L.62.

that with the *Britans* it was usual for Wóemen to be thir Leaders. A deal of other fondness they put into her mouth, not worth recital; how she was lash'd, how her Daughters were handl'd, things worthier silence, retirement, and a Vail, than for a Woeman to repeat, as don to hir own person, or to hear repeated before an host of Men. *The Greek Historian* Dion. setts her in the field on a high heap of Turves, in a loose-bodied Gown declaiming, a Spear in her hand, a Hare in her bosome, which after a long circumlocution she was to let slip among them for lucks sake, then praying to *Andate the British Goddess*, to talk again as fondly as before. And this they do out of a vanity, hoping to embellish and set out thir Historie with the strangeness of our manners, not careing in the mean while to brand us with the rankest note of Barbarism, as if in *Britain* Woemen were Men, and Men Woemen. I affect not set speeches in a Historie, unless known for certain to have bin so spok'n in effect as they are writ'n, nor then, unless worth rehearsal; and to invent such, though eloquently, as som Historians have done, is an abuse of posteritie, raising, in them that read, other conceptions of those times and persons than were true. Much less therfore do I purpose heer or elsewhere to Copie out tedious Orations without decorum, though in thir Authors compos'd ready to my hand. Hitherto what we have heard of *Cassibelan*, *Togadumnus*, *Venusius*, and *Caractacus* hath bin full of magnanimitie, soberness, and martial skill: but

but the truth is, that in this Battel, and whole buſineſs, the *Britans* never more plainly manifeſted themſelves to be right *Barbarians*; no rule, no foreſight, no forecaſt, experience or eſtimation, either of themſelves or of thir Enemies; ſuch confuſion, ſuch impotence, as ſeem'd likeſt not to a Warr, but to the wild hurrey of a diſtracted Woeman, with as mad a Crew at her heeles. Therfore *Suetonius* contemning thir unruly noiſes, and fierce looks, heart'ns his Men but to ſtand cloſe a while, and ſtrike manfully this headleſs rabble that ſtood neereſt, the reſt would be a purchaſe, rather than a toil. And ſo it fell out; for the Legion, when they ſaw thir time, burſting out like a violent wedge, quickly broke and diſſipated what oppos'd them; all elſe held only out thir necks to the ſlayer, for thir own Carts and Waggons were ſo plac'd by themſelvs, as left them but little room to eſcape between. The *Romans* ſlew all; Men, Woemen, and the very drawing Horſes lay heap'd along the field in a gory mixture of ſlaughter. About fowrſcore thouſand *Britans* are ſaid to have bin ſlain on the place; of the Enemy ſcarce 400 and not many more wounded. *Boadicea* poyſon'd her ſelf, or, as others ſay, ſick'n'd and dy'd. She was of Stature big and tall, of viſage grim and ſtern, harſh of voice, her hair of bright-colour flowing down to her hipps; ſhe wore a plighted Garment of divers colours, with a great gold'n Chain; button'd over all a thick robe. *Gildas* calls her the craftie Lioneſs, and leaves an ill fame upon her doings.

Dion.

doings. *Dion* sets down otherwise the order of this fight, and that the field was not won without much difficultie, nor without intention of the *Britans* to give another Battel, had not the Death of *Boudicea* come betweene. Howbeit *Suetonius* to preserve Discipline, and to dispatch the reliques of Warr; lodg'd with all his Armie in the op'n field; which was supply'd out of *Germany* with 1000 Horse, and 10000 Foot; thence disper's'd to Winter, and with Incursions to wast those Countries that stood out. But to the *Britans* Famine was a worse affliction; having left off during this uproar, to till the ground, and made reck'ning to serve themselves on the Provisions of thir Enemie. Nevertheless those Nations that were yet untam'd, hearing of some discord ris'n between *Suetonius* and the new Procurator *Classicianus*, were brought but slowly to terms of peace; and the rigor us'd by *Suetonius* on them that yeilded, taught them the better course to stand on thir defence: For it is certaine, that *Suetonius*, though else a worthie man, over-proud of his Victorie, gave too much way to his anger against the *Britans*. *Classician* therefore sending such word to *Rome*, that these severe proceedings would beget an endless Warr; *Polycletus*, no *Roman* but a Courtier, was sent by *Nero* to examin how things went. He admonishing *Suetonius* to use more mildness, aw'd the Armie, and to the *Britans* gave matter of Laughter. Who so much even till then were nurs'd up in thir Native Libertie, as to wonder that so great a General with *Tacit. vit. Agric.*

his whole Armie ſhould be at the rebuke and ordering of a Court Servitor. But *Suetonius* a while after having loſt a few Gallies on the ſhoar, was bid reſigne his command to *Petronius Turpilianus*, who not provoking the *Britans*, nor by them provok'd, was thought to have pretended the love of peace to what indeed was his love of eaſe and ſloath. *Trebellius Maximus* follow'd his ſteps, uſurping the name of gentle Government to any remiſneſs or neglect of Diſcipline; which brought in firſt licence, next diſobedience into his Camp; incens'd againſt him partly for his covetouſneſs, partly by the incitement of *Roſcius Cælius* Legat of a Legion; with whom formerly diſagreeing, now that Civil Warr began in the Empire, he fell to op'n diſcord; charging him with diſorder, and ſedition, and him *Cælius* with peeling and defrauding the Legions of thir pay; inſomuch that *Trebellius* hated, and deſerted of the Souldiers, was content a while to govern by a baſe entreaty, and forc'd at length to flie the Land. Which notwithſtanding remain'd in good quiet, govern'd by *Cælius* and the other Legat of a Legion, both faithful to *Vitellius* then Emperour; who ſent hither *Vectius Bolanus*; under whoſe lenity, though not tainted with other fault, againſt the *Britans* nothing was done, nor in thir own Diſcipline reform'd. *Petilius Cerealis* by appointment of *Veſpaſian* ſucceeding, had to doe with the populous *Brigantes* in many Battails, and ſom of thoſe, not unbloodie. For as we heard before, it was *Venuſius* who even to theſe

Tacit. Hiſt. 8. 1. *& vit. Agric.*

69.

Tacit. Hiſt. 2. *& vit. Agric.*

70

74.

Calvis.

times

times held them tack, both himself remaining to the end unvanquish'd, and som part of his Countrie not so much as reach't. It appears also by several passages in the Histories of *Tacitus*, that no small number of *British Forces* were commanded over Sea the year before to serve in those bloodie Warrs between *Otho* and *Vitellius*, *Vitellius* and *Vespasian* contending for the Empire. To *Cerealis* succeeded *Julius Frontinus* in the Government of *Britan*, who by tameing the *Silures*, a people warlike and strongly inhabiting, augmented much his reputation. But *Julius Agricola*, whom *Vespasian* in his last year sent hither, train'd up from his youth in the *British* Wars, extended with Victories the *Roman* Limit beyond all his Predecessors. His coming was in the midst of Summer; and the *Ordovices* to welcome the new General, had hew'n in peeces a whole Squadron of Horse, which lay upon thir bounds, few escaping. *Agricola*, who perceav'd that the noise of this defeat had also in the Province desirous of novelty, stir'd up new expectations, resolves to be before-hand with the danger: and drawing together the choice of his Legions with a competent number of Auxiliars, not beeing met by the *Ordovices*, who kept the Hills, himself in the head of his men hunts them up and down through difficult places, almost to the final extirpating of that whole Nation. With the same current of success, what *Paulinus* had left unfinish'd he Conquers in the *Ile of Mona*: for the Ilanders altogether fearless of his approach, whom

Tacit. Hist. 3. & vit. Agric.

79.

they knew to have no Shipping, when they saw themselves invaded on a sudden by the Auxiliars, whose Countrie use had taught them to swimm over with Horse and Armes, were compel'd to yield. This gain'd *Agricola* much opinion; who at his very entrance, a time which others bestow'd of course in hearing complements and gratulations, had made such early progress into laborious and hardest enterprises. But by farr not so famous was *Agricola* in bringing Warr to a speedie end, as in cutting off the causes from whence Warr arises. For he knowing that the end of Warr was not to make way for Injuries in Peace, began Reformation from his own House; permitted not his Attendants and Followers to sway, or have to doe at all in Public Affairs: laies on with equalitie the proportions of Corn and Tribute that were impos'd; takes off exactions, and the Fees of encroaching Officers, heavier than the tribute it self. For the Countries had bin compell'd before, to sitt and wait the op'ning of public Granaries, and both to sell and to buy thir Corn at what rate the Publicans thought fitt; the Pourveyers also commanding when they pleas'd to bring it in, not to the neerest, but still to the remotest places, either by the compounding of such as would be excus'd, or by causing a Dearth, where none was, made a particular gain. These greevances and the like, he in the time of peace removing, brought peace into som credit; which before, since the *Romans* coming, had as ill a name as Warr. The Summer following,

lowing, *Titus then Emperor*, he ſo continually with inrodes diſquieted the Enemy over all the Ile, and after terror ſo allur'd them with his gentle demeanour, that many Cities which till that time would not bend, gave Hoſtages, admitted Garriſons, and came in voluntarily. The Winter he ſpent all in worthie actions; teaching and promoting like a public Father the Inſtitutes and Cuſtomes of civil Life. The Inhabitants rude and ſcatter'd, and by that the proner to Warr, he ſo perſwaded as to build Houſes, Temples, and Seats of Juſtice; and by praiſing the forward, quick'ning the ſlow, aſſiſting all, turn'd the name of neceſſitie into an emulation. He caus'd moreover the Noblemens Sons to be bred up in Liberal Arts; and by preferring the Witts of *Britan*, before the Studies of *Gallia*, brought them to affect the Latine Eloquence, who before hated the Language. Then were the *Roman* faſhions imitated, and the Gown; after a while the incitements alſo and meterials of Vice, and voluptuous life, proud Buildings, Baths, and the elegance of Banqueting; which the fooliſher ſort call'd Civilitie, but was indeed a ſecret Art to prepare them for bondage. Spring appearing, he took the Feild, and with a proſperous expedition waſted as farr Northward as the Frith of *Taus* all that obey'd not; with ſuch a terror, as he went, that the *Roman* Armie, though much hinder'd by tempeſtuous weather, had the leaſure to build Forts and Caſtles where they pleas'd, none daring to oppoſe them. Beſides, *Agricola* had this excel- 81.

lence in him, so providently to choose his places where to fortifie, as not another General then alive. No Sconce, or Fortress of his raising was ever known either to have bin forc'd, or yeilded up, or quitted. Out of these impregnable by seige, or in that case duely releev'd, with continual irruptions he so prevail'd, that the Enemie, whose manner was in Winter to regain, what in Summer he had lost, was now alike in both seasons kept short, and streit'n'd. For these exploits then esteem'd so great, and honourable, *Titus* in whose Reign they were atcheev'd, was the fifteenth time saluted Imperator; and of him *Agricola*, receav'd triumphal honours. The fourth Summer, *Domitian* then ruleing the Empire, he spent in settling and confirming what the year before he had travail'd over with a running Conquest. And had the valour of his Souldiers bin answerable, he had reach'd that year, as was thought, the utmost bounds of *Britan*. For *Glota*, and *Bodotria*, now *Dunbritton*, and the Frith of *Edinburrow*; two opposite Armes of the Sea, divided only by a neck of Land, and all the Creeks and Inlets on this side, were held by the *Romans*, and the Enemie driv'n as it were into another land. In his fift year he pass'd over into the *Orcades*, as we may probably guess, and other Scotch Iles; discovering and subduing Nations till then unknown. He gain'd also with his Forces that part of *Britan* which faces *Ireland*, as aiming also to conquer that Iland; where one of the Irish Kings driv'n out by Civil

Dion. L. 66.

82.

83.

vil Warrs, coming to him, he both gladly receav'd, and retain'd him as against a fit time.
The Summer ensuing on, mistrust that the Nu- 84.
tions beyond *Bodotria* would generally rise, and forclay the passages by Land, he caus'd his Fleet, making a great shew, to bear along the Coast, and up the Friths and Harbours; joyning most commonly at night on the same shoar both Land and Sea Forces, with mutual shouts and loud greetings. At sight whereof the *Britans*, not wont to see thir Sea so ridd'n, were much daunted. Howbeit the *Caledonians* with great preparation, and by rumor, as of things unknown much greater, taking Armes, and of thir own accord begining Warr by the assault of sundry Castles, sent back som of thir fear to the *Romans* themselves: and there were of the Commanders, who cloaking thir fear under shew of sage advice, counsel'd the General to retreat back on this side *Bodotria*. He in the mean while having intelligence, that the Enemy would fall on in many Bodies, divided also his Armie into three parts. Which advantage the *Britans* quickly spying, and on a sudden uniting what before they had disjoyn'd, assaile by night with all thir Forces that part of the *Roman* Armie, which they knew to be the weakest; and breaking in upon the Camp surpris'd between sleep and fear, had begun some Execution. When *Agricola*, who had learnt what way the Enemies took, and follow'd them with all speed, sending before him the lightest of his Horse and Foot to charge them behind, the rest as they came on

to affright them with clamour, so ply'd them without respite, that by approach of day the *Roman* Ensigns glittering all about, had encompass'd the *Britans*: who now after a sharp fight in the very Ports of the Camp, betook them to thir wonted refuge, the Woods and Fens, pourſu'd a while by the *Romans*, that day else in all appearance had ended the Warr. The Legions reincourag'd by this event, they also now boasting, who but lately trembl'd, cry all to be led on as farr as there was *British* ground. The *Britans* also not acknowleding the loss of that day to *Roman* Valour, but to the policy of thir Captain, abated nothing of thir stoutness, but arming thir Youth, conveying thir Wives and Children to places of safety, in frequent Assemblies, and by Solemn Covenants bound themselves to mutual assistance against the Common Enemy. About the same time a Cohort of *Germans* having slain thir Centurion with other *Roman* Officers in a mutiny, and for fear of punishment fled a Shipboard, launch'd forth in three light Gallies without Pilot: and by tide or weather carried round about the Coast, using Piracy where they landed, while thir Ships held out, and as thir skill serv'd them, with various fortune, were the first discoverers to the *Romans* that *Britain* was an Iland. The following Summer, *Agricola* having before sent his Navie to hover on the Coast, and with sundrie and uncertaine landings to divert and disunite the *Britans*, himself with a power best appointed for expedition, wherin also were many *Britans*,

Dion. L. 66.

85.

tans, whom he had long try'd both valiant and faithful, marches onward to the Mountaine *Grampius*, where the *Britiſh*, above 30000, were now lodg'd, and ſtill increaſing: for neither would thir old men, ſo many as were yet vigorous and luſty, be left at home, long practis'd in Warr, and every one adorn'd with ſome badge, or cogniſance of his warlike deeds long agoe. Of whom *Galgacus*, both by birth and merit the prime Leader, to thir courage, though of it ſelf hot and violent, is by his rough Oratory, in deteſtation of Servitude and the *Roman* yoke, ſaid to have added much more eagerneſs of fight; teſtifi'd by thir ſhouts and barbarous applauſes. As much did on the other ſide *Agricola* exhort his Souldiers to Victorie and Glorie; as much the Souldiers by his firm and well grounded Exhortations were all on a fire to the onſet. But firſt he orders them in this ſort. Of 8000 Auxiliar Foot he makes his middle ward, on the wings 3000 Horſe, the Legions as a reſerve, ſtood in array before the Camp; either to ſeiſe the Victorie won without thir own hazard, or to keep up the Battaile if it ſhould need. The *Britiſh* Powers on the hill ſide, as might beſt ſerve for ſhew and terrour, ſtood in thir Battalions; the firſt on eeven ground, the next riſing behind, as the hill aſcended. The field between rung with the noiſe of Horſemen and Chariots ranging up and down. *Agricola* doubting to be over wing'd, ſtretches out his Front, though ſomwhat with the thinneſt, inſomuch that many advis'd to bring up the Legions; yet he not altering,

altering, alights from his Horſe, and ſtands on foot before the Enſignes. The fight began aloof, and the *Britans* had a certain skill with thir broad ſwaſhing Swords and ſhort Bucklers either to ſtrike aſide, or to bear off the Darts of thir Enemies; and withall to ſend back ſhowers of thir own. Until *Agricola* diſcerning that thoſe little Targets and unweildie Glaves ill pointed, would ſoon become ridiculous againſt the thruſt and cloſe, commanded three *Batavian* Cohorts, and two of the *Tungrians* exercis'd and arm'd for cloſe Fight, to draw up, and come to handy ſtrokes. The *Batavians*, as they were commanded, running in upon them, now with thir long Tucks thruſting at the face, now with thir piked Targets bearing them down, had made good riddance of them that ſtood below; and for haſt omitting furder Execution, began apace to advance up hill, ſeconded now by all the other Cohorts. Mean while the Horſe-men fly, the Charioters mixe themſelves to fight among the Foot; where many of thir Horſe alſo fall'n in diſorderly, were now more a miſchief to thir own, than before a terrour to thir Enemies. The Batttaile was a confus'd heap; the ground unequal; Men, Horſes, Chariots crowded pelmel; ſomtimes in little room, by and by in large, fighting, ruſhing, felling, over-bearing, over-turning. They on the Hill, which were not yet come to blows, perceaving the fewneſs of thir Enemies, came down amain; and had enclos'd the *Romans* unawares behind, but that *Agricola* with a ſtrong Body of Horſe which he reſerv'd

reserv'd for such a purpose, repell'd them back as fast: and others drawn off the front, were commanded to wheel about and charge them on the backs. Then were the *Romans* clearly Maisters; they follow, they wound, they take, and to take more, kill whom they take: the *Britans* in whole Troops with weapons in thir hands one while flying the pursuer, anon without weapons desperately running upon the slayer. But all of them, when once they got the Woods to thir shelter, with fresh boldness made head again, and the forwardest on a sudden they turn'd and slew, the rest so hamper'd, as had not *Agricola*, who was every where at hand, sent out his readiest Cohorts, with part of his Horse to alight and scowr the Woods, they had receav'd a foyle in the midst of Victorie; but following with a close and orderly pursuit, the *Britans* fled again, and were totally scatter'd; till night and weariness ended the chase. And of them that day 10000 fell; of the *Romans* 340, among whom *Aulus Atticus* the Leader of a Cohort; carried with heat of youth and the fierceness of his Horse too farr on. The *Romans* jocond of this Victorie, and the spoil they got, spent the night; the vanquished wandring about the field, both Men and Women, som lamenting, som calling thir lost friends, or carrying off thir wounded; others forsaking, som burning thir own Houses; and it was certain anough, that there were who with a stern compassion laid violent hands on thir Wives and Children to prevent the more violent hands of hostile injurie.

injurie. Next day appearing manifested more plainly the greatness of thir loss receav'd; every where silence, desolation, houses burning afarr off, not a man seen, all fled and doubtfull whither: such word the Scouts bringing in from all parts, and the Summer now spent, no fit season to disperse a Warr, the *Roman* General leads his Armie among the *Horestians*; by whom Hostages being giv'n, he commands his Admiral with a sufficient Navie to saile round the Coast of *Britan*: himself with slow marches, that his delay in passing might serve to awe those new-conquer'd Nations, bestows his Armie in thir Winter-quarters. The Fleet also having fetch'd a prosperous and speedy compass about the Ile, put in at the Haven *Trutulensis*, now *Richborrow* neer *Sandwich*, from whence it first set out: and now likeliest if not two years before, as was mention'd, the *Romans* might discover and subdue the Iles of *Orkney*; which others with less reason following *Eusebius* and *Orosius*, attribute to the deeds of *Claudius*. These perpetual exploits abroad won him wide fame; with *Domitian*, under whom great virtue was as punishable as op'n crime, won him hatred. For he maligning the renown of these his acts, in shew decreed him honours, in secret devis'd his ruin. *Agricola* therefore commanded home for doeing too much, of what he was sent to doe, left the Province to his Successor quiet and secure. Whether he, as is conjectured, were *Salustius Lucullus*, or before him som other, for *Suetonius* only names him Legat of *Britan* under *Domitian*;

Camden. Juvenal, Stat. 2.

Eutrop. L. 7.

Dion. L. 66.

86.

tian; but furder of him or ought elſe done here until the time of *Hadrian*, is no where plainly to be found. Some gather by a Preface in *Tacitus* to the Book of his Hiſtories, that what *Agricola* won here, was ſoon after by *Domitian* either through want of Valour loſt, or through envy neglected. And *Juvenal* the Poet ſpeaks of *Arviragus* in theſe daies, and not before, King of *Britan*: who ſtood ſo well in his reſiſtance, as not only to be talk'd of at *Rome*, but to be held matter of a glorious Triumph, if *Domitian* could take him Captive, or overcome him. Then alſo *Claudia Rufina* the Daughter of a *Britan*, and Wife of *Pudence* a *Roman* Senator liv'd at *Rome*; famous by the Verſe of *Martial* for beauty, wit, and learning. The next we hear of *Britan*, is that when *Trajan* was Emperor, it revolted, and was ſubdued. Under *Adrian*, *Julius Severus*, ſaith *Dion*, govern'd the Iland, a prime Souldier of that Age, but he being call'd away to ſuppreſs the Jews then in tumult, left things at ſuch paſs, as caus'd the Emperor in perſon to take a journey hither; where many things he reform'd, and, as *Auguſtus* and *Tiberius* counſel'd, to gird the Empire within moderate bounds; he rais'd a Wall with great ſtakes driv'n in deep, and faſtn'd together, in manner of a ſtrong mound, 80 mile in length, to divide what was *Roman* from *Barbarian*: no antient Author names the place, but old Inſcriptions, and ruin it ſelf yet teſtifies where it went along between *Solway* Frith by *Carlile*, and the mouth of *Tine*. *Hadrian* having quiet-

Spartianus in vit. Hadrian.

122.

Spartianus ibid.

ed

Camden. ed the Iland, took it for honour to be titl'd on his Coine, the Restorer of *Britan*. In his time also *Priscus Licinius*, as appears by an old inscription, was Lieutenant heer. *Antonius Pius* reigning, the *Brigantes* ever leaft patient of Forein servitude, breaking in upon *Genounia* (which *Camden* guesses to be *Guinethia* or *North-Wales*) part of the *Roman* Province, were with the loss of much territory driv'n back by *Lollius Urbicus*, who drew another Wall of Turves; in likelihood much beyond the former, and as *Camden* proves, between the Frith of *Dunbritton*, and of *Edinborrow*; to hedge out incursions from the North. And *Scius Saturninus*, as is collected from the digests, had charge heer of the *Roman* Navie. With like succes did *Marcus Aurelius* next Emperour by his Legat *Calphurnius Agricola* finish heer a new Warr: *Commodus* after him obteining the Empire. In his time, as among so many different accounts may seem most probable, *Lucius* a suppos'd King in some part of *Britan*, the first of any King in *Europe*, that we read of, receav'd the Christian Faith, and this Nation the first by publick Authority profes's'd it: a high and singular Grace from above, if sincerities and perseverance went along, otherwise an empty boast, and to be fear'd the verifying of that true sentence, *the first shall be last*. And indeed the praise of this action is more proper to King *Lucius* than common to the *Nation*; whose first professing by publick Authority was no real commendation of thir true faith; which had appear'd more sincere and

Pausan. Archad.

Capitolin. vit. Anton. 144.

Capitolin. Marc. Ant. Philos. 162.

Digest. L. 36.

Beda.

praise-

praise-worthy, whether in this or other Nation, first profess'd without publick Authority or against it, might else have bin but outward conformity. *Lucius* in our *Monmouth* Storie is made the second by descent from *Marius*. *Marius* the Son of *Arviragus* is there said to have overthrown the *Picts* then first coming out of *Scythia*, slain *Roderic* thir King; and in sign of Victorie to have set up a Monument of Stone in the Country since call'd *Westmaria*; but these things have no foundation. *Coilus* the Son of *Marius*, all his reign, which was just and peaceable, holding great amity with the *Romans*, left it hereditary to *Lucius*. He (if *Beda* err not, living neer 500 years after, yet our antientest Author of this report) sent to *Eleutherius* then Bishop of *Rome*, an improbable 181.
Letter, as some of the Contents discover, desiring that by his appointment he and his people might receave Christianitie. From whom two Religious Doctors, nam'd in our Chronicles *Faganus* and *Deruvianus*, forthwith sent, are said to have converted and baptiz'd well nigh the whole Nation: thence *Lucius* to have *Nennius*. had the sirname of *Levermaur*, that is to say, great light. Nor yet then first was the Christian Faith heer known, but eev'n from the later daies of *Tiberius*, as *Gildas* confidently affirms, taught and propagated, and that as som say by *Simon Zelotes*, as others by *Joseph* of *Arimathæa*, *Barnabas*, *Paul*, *Peter*, and thir prime Disciples. But of these matters, variously written and believ'd, Ecclesiastic Historians can best determin: as the best of them do, with little

little credit giv'n to the particulars of such uncertain relations. As for *Lucius*, they write, that after a long reign he was buried at *Glo-*
Geff. Mon. *ster*; but dying without issue left the King-
Dion. L. 72. dom in great commotion. By truer testimony we find that the greatest Warr which in those days busy'd *Commodus*, was in this Iland. For the Nations Northward, notwithstanding the Wall rais'd to keep them out, breaking in upon the *Roman* Province, wasted wide; and both the Army, and the Leader that came against them wholly routed, and destroy'd; which put the Emperour in such a fear, as to dispatch hither one of his best Commanders, *Ulpius Marcellus*. He a man endu'd with all
183. nobleness of mind, frugal, temperate, mild, and magnanimous, in Warr bold and watchfull, invincible against lucre, and the assault of bribes, what with his valour, and these his other virtues, quickly ended this Warr that look'd so dangerous, and had himself like to have been ended by the peace which he brought home, for presuming to be so worthy and so good under the envy of so worthless and so bad an Emperor. After whole depar-
Lamprid. in Comm. ture the *Roman* Legions fell to sedition among themselves; 1500 of them went to *Rome* in
186. name of the rest, and were so terrible to *Commodus* himself, as that to please them he put to death *Perennius* the Captain of his Guard. Notwithstanding which compliance they endeavour'd heer to set up another Emperor against him; and *Helvius Pertinax* who succeeded Governour, found it a work so difficult to appease

peaſe them, that once in a mutiny he was left for dead among many ſlain; and was fain at length to ſeek a diſmiſſion from his charge. *Capitolin. in Pert.*

After him *Clodius Albinus* took the Government; but he, for having to the Souldiers made an Oration againſt Monarchie, by the appointment of *Commodus* was bid reſign to *Junius Severus*. But *Albinus* in thoſe troubleſome times enſuing under the ſhort reign of *Pertinax* and *Didius Julianus*, found means to keep in his hands the Government of *Britan*; although *Septimius Severus* who next held the Empire, ſent hither *Heraclitus* to diſplace him; but in vain, for *Albinus* with all the *Britiſh* Powers and thoſe of *Gallia* met *Severus* about *Lyons in France*, and fought a bloody Battail with him for the Empire, though at laſt vanquiſh'd and ſlain. *Capitolin. in Alb.* 193. *Dion. Did. Jul. Spartian. in Sever. Herod. L. 3.*

The Government of *Britan*, *Severus* divided between two Deputies; till then one Legat was thought ſufficient; the North he committed to *Virius Lupus*. Where the *Meatæ* riſing in Arms, and the *Caledonians*, though they had promis'd the contrary to *Lupus*, preparing to defend them, ſo hard beſet, he was compell'd to buy his Peace, and a few of Pris'ners with great Summs of mony. But hearing that *Severus* had now brought to an end his other Warrs, he writes him plainly the ſtate of things heer, that the *Britans* of the North made Warr upon him, broke into the Province, and harraſs'd all the Countries nigh them, that there needed ſuddenly either more aid, or himſelf in perſon. *Severus* though now much weak'nd with Age and the *Herod. L. 3.* *Digeſt. L. 28. tit. 6.* *Dion.* *Herod. L. 3*

Gout, yet desirous to leave som memorial of his warlike acheevements heer, as he had don in other places, and besides to withdraw by this means his two Sons from the pleasures of *Rome*, and his Souldiers from idleness, with a Mighty Power, farr sooner than could be ex-
208. pected, arrives in *Britan*. The Northern People much daunted with the report of so great Forces brought over with him, and yet more preparing, send Embassadors to treat of Peace, and to excuse thir former doings. The Emperor now loath to returne home without some memorable thing don, whereby he might assume to his other Titles the addition of *Britannicus*, delays his answer, and quick'ns his preparations; till in the end, when all things were in readiness to follow them, they are dismis't without effect. His principal care was to have many Bridges laid over Bogs and rotten Moars, that his Souldiers might have to fight on sure footing. For it seems through lack of tillage, the Northern parts were then, as *Ireland* is at this day; and the Inhabitants in like manner wonted to retire, and defend themselves in such watrie places half naked.
209. He also being past *Adrians* Wall, cut down Woods, made way through Hills, fast'nd and fill'd up unsound and plashy Fens. Notwithstanding all this industrie us'd, the Enemie kept himself so cunningly within his best advantages, and seldom appearing, so opportunely found his times to make irruption upon the *Romans*, when they were most in straits and difficulties, somtimes training them on with

with a few Cattel turn'd out, and drawn within ambuſh cruelly handling them, that many a time enclos'd in the midſt of ſloughs and quagmires, they choſe rather themſelves to kill ſuch as were faint and could not ſhift away, than leave them there a prey to the *Caledonians*. Thus loſt *Severus*, and by ſickneſs in thoſe noiſome places, no leſs than 50000 men: and yet deſiſted not, though for weakneſs carried in a Litter, till he had march't through with his Armie to the utmoſt Northern verge of the Ile: and the *Britans* offring Peace were compell'd to loſe much of thir Country not before ſubject to the *Romans*. *Severus* on the Frontiers of what he had firmly conquer'd builds a Wall croſs the Iland from Sea to Sea; which one Author judges the moſt magnificent of all his other deeds; and that he thence receav'd the ſtile of *Britannicus*; in length 132 Miles. *Oroſius* adds it fortify'd with a deep Trench, and between certain ſpaces many Towers, or Battlements. The place whereof ſom will have to be in *Scotland*, the ſame which *Lollius Urbicus* had wall'd before. Others affirm it only *Hadrians* work re-edifi'd; both plead Authorities and the ancient Tract yet viſible: but this I leave among the ſtudious of theſe Antiquities to be diſcuſs't more at large. While Peace held, the Empreſs *Julia* meeting on a time certain *Britiſh* Ladies, and diſcourſing with the Wife of *Argentocoxus* a *Caledonian*, caſt out a ſcoff againſt the looſeneſs of our Iland Women; whoſe manner then was to uſe promiſcuouſly the company of divers men.

Dion.

210. *Spartianus in Sever.*

Eutropij Pean. Oroſ. l. 7. Ceſſidor. chro. Buchanan.

Whom ſtraight the *Britiſh* Woman boldly thus anſwer'd: *Much better do we* Britans *fulfill the work of Nature, than you* Romans; *we with the beſt men accuſtom op'nly; you with the baſeſt commit private adulteries.* Whether ſhe thought this anſwer might ſerve to juſtifie the practice of her Countrie, as when Vices are compar'd, the greater ſeems to juſtifie the leſs, or whether the Law and Cuſtome wherein ſhe was bred, had wip't out of her conſcience the better dictate of Nature, and not convinc't her of the ſhame; certain it is, that whereas other Nations us'd a liberty not unnatural for one man to have many Wives, the *Britans* altogether as licentious, but more abſurd and prepoſterous in thir licence, had one or many Wives in common among ten or twelve Husbands; and thoſe for the moſt part inceſtuouſly. But no ſooner was *Severus* return'd into the Province, than the *Britans* take Arms again. Againſt whom *Severus* worn out with labours and infirmity, ſends *Antoninus* his eldeſt Son; expreſly commanding him to ſpare neither Sex nor Age. But *Antoninus* who had his wicked thoughts tak'n up with the contriving of his Fathers death, a ſafer Enemie than a Son, did the *Britans* not much detriment. Whereat *Severus* more overcome with grief than any other maladie, ended his Life at *York*.

Cæſar.

211. After whoſe deceaſe *Antoninus Caracalla* his impious Son concluding Peace with the *Britans*, took Hoſtages and departed to *Rome*. The Conductor of all this Northern Warr *Stottiſh* Writers name *Donaldus*, he of *Monmouth Fulgenius*,

Spartianus in Sever.

genius, in the rest of his Relation nothing worth. From hence the *Roman* Empire declining apace, good Historians growing scarce, or lost, have left us little else but fragments for many years ensuing. Under *Gordian* the Emperour we find by the Inscription of an Altar stone, that *Nonius Philippus* govern'd heer. 242. *Camd.* *Cumber.*

Under *Galienus* we read there was a strong and general revolt from the *Roman* Legat. Of the thirty Tyrants which not long after took upon them the stile of Emperor, by many Coins found among us, *Lollianus*, *Victorinus*, *Posthumus*, the *Tetrici* and *Marius* are conjectured to have ris'n or born great sway in this Iland. Whence *Porphyrius* a Philosopher then living, said that *Britan* was a soil fruitful of Tyrants; and is noted to be the first Author that makes mention of the *Stottish* Nation. 259. *Eumen. Paneg. Const.* 267. *Camden.* *Gildas.* *Hieronym.*

While *Probus* was Emperor, *Bonosus* the Son of a Rhetorician, bred up a *Spanyard*, though by descent a *Britan*, and a matchless drinker, nor much to be blam'd, if, as they write, he were still wisest in his cups, having attained in warfare to high honours, and lastly in his charge over the *German* shipping, willingly, as was thought, miscarried, trusting on his Power with the Western Armies, and join'd with *Proculus*, bore himself a while for Emperor; but after a long and bloodie fight at *Cullen*, vanquish't by *Probus*, he hang'd himself, and gave occasion of a ready jest made on him for his much drinking; *Heer hangs a Tankard, not a man.* After this, *Probus* with much wisdom prevented a new Rising heer in *Britan*, by the severe Loyaltie 282. *Vopisc. in Bonos.* *Zosim* l. 1.

of *Victorinus* a *Moor*, at whose entreatie he had plac't heer that Governour which rebelled. For the Emperor upbraiding him with the disloyaltie of whom he had commended, *Victorinus* undertaking to set all right again, hastes hither, and finding indeed the Governour to intend Sedition, by some contrivance not mention'd in the Storie, slew him, whose name some imagine to be *Cornelius Lelianus*.

Camd. They write also that *Probus* gave leave to the *Spanyards*, *Gauls*, and *Britans* to plant Vines, and to make Wine; and having subdu'd the *Vandals*, and *Burgundians* in a great Battail, sent over many of them hither to inbabit, where they did good service to the *Romans* when any Insurrection happen'd in the Ile.

Zozimus.

After whom *Carus* Emperor going against the *Persians*, left *Carinus* one of his Sons to Govern among other Western Provinces this Iland with Imperial Authority; but him *Diocletian* saluted Emperor by the Eastern Armies overcame and slew. About which time *Carusius* a man of low Parentage, born in *Menapia*, about the parts of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, who through all militarie degrees was made at length Admiral of the *Belgic* and *Armoric* Seas, then much infested by the *Franks* and *Saxons*, what he took from the Pirats, neither restoring to the owners, nor accounting to the Publick, but enriching himself, and yet not scowring the Seas, but conniving rather at those Sea Robbers, was grown at length too great a Delinquent to be less than an Emperor: for fear and guiltinesse in those days made Emperors

283. *Vopisc. in Carin.*

284. *Aurel Vict. de Cæsar.*

285. *Eutro. Oros.*

ofter

ofter than merit: And underſtanding that *Maximianus Herculius*, *Dioclesians* adopted Son, was come againſt him into *Gallia*, paſs'd over with the Navie which he had made his own, into *Britain*, and poſſeſs'd the Iland. Where he built a new Fleet after the *Roman* faſhion, got into his Power the Legion that was left heer in Garriſon, other Outlandiſh Cohorts detain'd, liſted the very Merchants and Factors of *Gallia*, and with the allurement of ſpoile invited great numbers of other barbarous Nations to his part, and train'd them to Sea-ſervice, wherin the *Romans* at that time were grown ſo out of skill, that *Carauſius* with his Navie did at Sea what he liſted, robbing on every Coaſt; whereby *Maximian*, able to com no neerer than the ſhoar of *Boloigne*, was forc't to conclude a Peace with *Carauſius*, and yeild him *Britan*; as one fitteſt to guard the Province there againſt inroads from the North. But not long after having aſſum'd *Conſtantius Chlorus* to the dignity of *Cæſar*, ſent him againſt *Carauſius*; who in the mean while had made himſelf ſtrong both within the Land and without. *Galfred* of *Monmouth* writes that he made the *Picts* his Confederates; to whom lately come out of *Scythia* he gave *Albany* to dwell in: and it is obſerv'd that before his time the *Picts* are not known to have bin any where mentioned, and then firſt by *Eumenius* a Rhetorician. He repair'd and fortifi'd the Wall of *Severus* with ſeven Caſtles, and a round Houſe of ſmooth ſtone on the Bank of *Carron*, which River, ſaith *Ninnius*, was of his Name

Eumen Paneg. 2. 286.

Victor. Eutrop. 291.

Buchanan.

Paneg. 2.

so call'd; he built also a Triumphal Arch in remembrance of some Victory there obtain'd. In *France* he held *Gessoriacum*, or *Boloigne*; and all the *Franks* which had by his permission seated themselves in *Belgia*, were at his Devotion. But *Constantius* hasting into *Gallia*, besieges *Boloigne*, and with Stones and Timber obstructing the Port, keeps out all relief that could be sent in by *Carausius*. Who, ere *Constantius* with the great Fleet which he had prepair'd, could arrive hither, was slain treacherously by *Alectus* one of his Friends, who long'd to step into his place; when he seven years, and worthily, as some say, as others, tyrannically, had rul'd the Iland. So much the more did *Constantius* prosecute that opportunity, before *Alectus* could well strengthen his Affairs: and though in ill weather, putting to Sea with all urgency from several Hav'ns to spread the terror of his landing, and the doubt where to expect him, in a Mist passing the *British* Fleet unseen, that lay scouting neer the Ile of *Wight*, no sooner got a shoar, but fires his own Ships, to leave no hope of refuge but in Victory. *Alectus* also, though now much dismaid, transfers his Fortune to a Battel on the shoar; but encountred by *Asclepiodotus* Captain of the *Prætorian* Bands, and desperately rushing on, unmindful both of ordering his men, or bringing them all to fight, save the accessories of his Treason, and his outlandish hirelings, is overthrown, and slain with little or no loss to the *Romans*, but great execution on the *Franks*. His Body was found almost naked in the field;

Paneg. Sigonius.

292.

Camd. ex Nin. Eumen. Pan. 3.

for

for his Purple Robe he had thrown aſide, leſt it ſhould deſcry him, unwilling to be found. The reſt taking flight to *London*, and purpoſing with the pillage of that City to eſcape by Sea, are met by another part of the *Roman* Armie, whom the Miſt at Sea disjoining had by chance brought thither, and with a new ſlaughter chas'd through all the Streets. The *Britans*, thir Wives alſo and Children, with great joy go out to meet *Canſtantius*, as one whom they acknowledge thir deliverer from bondage and inſolence. All this ſeems by *Eumenius*, who then liv'd, and was of *Conſtantius* houſhold, to have bin don in the courſe of one continu'd action; ſo alſo thinks *Sigonius* a learned Writer: though all other allow three years to the tyranny of *Alectus*. In theſe days were great ſtore of Workmen, and excellent Builders in this Iland, whom after the alteration of things heer, the *Æduans* in *Burgundie* entertain'd to build thir Temples and publick Edifices. *Diocleſian* having hitherto ſucceſsfully us'd his valour againſt the Enemies of his Empire, uſes now his rage in a bloodie perſecution againſt his obedient and harmleſs Chriſtian Subjects: from the feeling whereof neither was this Iland, though moſt remote, far anough remov'd. Among them heer who ſuffer'd glorioufly, *Aron*, and *Julius* of *Caer leon* upon *Uſk*, but chiefly *Alban* of *Verulam*, were moſt renown'd: The Story of whoſe Martyrdom ſoil'd, and worſe martyr'd with the fabling zeal of ſome idle fancies, more fond of Miracles, than apprehenſive of Truth, deſervs

Eumen.

Gildas.

not

not longer digreſſion. *Conſtantius* after *Dioclesian*, dividing the Empire with *Galerius*, had *Britan* among his other Provinces; where either preparing or returning with Victorie from an Expedition againſt the *Caledonians*, he di'd at *York*. His Son *Conſtantine*, who happily came Poſt from *Rome* to *Boloigne* juſt about the time, ſaith *Eumenius*, that his Father was ſetting ſail his laſt time hither, and not long before his death, was by him on his death-bed nam'd, and after his Funeral, by the whole Army ſaluted Emperor. There goes a fame, and that ſeconded by moſt of our own Hiſtorians, though not thoſe the ancienteſt, that *Conſtantine* was born in this Iland, his Mother *Helena* the Daughter of *Coilus* a *Britiſh* Prince, not ſure the Father of King *Lucius*, whoſe Siſter ſhe muſt then be, for that would detect her too old by an hundred years to be the Mother of *Conſtantine*. But to ſalve this incoherence, another *Coilus* is feign'd to be then Earl of *Colcheſter*. To this therfore the *Roman* Authors give no teſtimony, except a paſſage or two in the *Panegyrics*, about the ſenſe whereof much is argu'd: others neereſt to thoſe times clear the doubt, and write him certainly born of *Helena*, a mean Woeman at *Naiſus* in *Dardania*. Howbeit, ere his departure hence he ſeems to have had ſome bickerings in the North, which by reaſon of more urgent affairs compos'd, he paſſes into *Gallia*; and after four years returns either to ſettle or to alter the ſtate of things heer; until a new Warr againſt *Maxentius* call'd him back, leaving *Pacatianus* his

Author ignot. poſt Marcellin. Valeſii. 306.

Eutrop. Eumen. idem Auth. ignor.

Idem vit. Auth. ignot. Euſeb. Conſt.

307 *Sigon.* 311. *Camd.*

his Vicegerent. He deceasing, *Constantine* his eldest Son enjoy'd for his part of the Empire, with all the Provinces that lay on this side the *Alpes*, this Iland also. But falling to Civil Warr with *Constans* his Brother, was by him slain; who with his third Brother *Constantius* coming into *Britan*, seis'd it as Victor. Against him rose *Magnentius*, one of his Chief Commanders, by some affirm'd the Son of a *Britan*, he having gain'd on his side great Forces, contested with *Constantius* in many Battails for the sole Empire; but vanquish'd, in the end slew himself. Somwhat before this time *Gratianus Funarius*, the Father of *Valentinian*, afterwards Emperor, had Chief Command of those Armies which the *Romans* kept here. And the *Arrian* Doctrine which then divided Christendom, wrought also in this Iland no small disturbance: a Land, saith *Gildas*, greedy of every thing new, stedfast in nothing. At last *Constantius* appointed a *Synod* of more than 400 Bishops to Assemble at *Ariminum* on the Emperor's charges, which the rest all refusing, three only of the *British*, poverty constreining them, accepted; though the other Bishops among them offer'd to have born thir charges: esteeming it more honourable to live on the Publick, than to be obnoxious to any private Purse. Doubtless an ingenuous mind, and far above the Presbyters of our Age; who like well to sit in Assembly on the Publick stipend, but like not the poverty that caus'd these to do so. After this *Martinus* was Deputy of the Province; who being offended with the cru-

Ammian. L. 20. & in eum Valesius. 340. *Libanius in Basilico.* 343. *Camd. ex Firmico.* 350. *Camden.* 353. *Ammian.* 359.

elty

elty which *Paulus*, an Inquisitor sent from *Constantius*, exercis'd in his enquiry after those Military Officers who had conspir'd with *Magnentius*, was himself laid hold on as an accessory; at which enrag'd he runs at *Paulus* with his drawn Sword; but failing to kill him, turns it on himself. Next to whom, as may be gues's'd, *Alipius* was made Deputy. In the mean time *Julian*, whom *Constantius* hade made *Cæsar*, having recover'd much Territory about *Rhine*, where the *German* inrodes before had long insulted, to releeve those Countries almost ruin'd, causes 800 Pinaces to be built; and with them by frequent Voyages, plenty of Corn to be fetch'd in from *Britan*; which eeven then was the usual bounty of this Soil to those parts, as oft as *French* and *Saxon* Pirats hinder'd not the transportation. While *Constantius* yet Reign'd, the *Scots* and *Picts* breaking in upon the Northern Confines, *Julian*, being at *Paris*, sends over *Lupicinus*, a well try'd Souldier, but a proud and covetous man; who with a Power of light arm'd *Herulians*, *Batavians*, and *Mæsians*, in the midst of Winter sailing from *Boloigne*, arrives at *Rutupiæ* seated on the opposite shoar, and comes to *London*, to consult there about the Warr; but soon after was recall'd by *Julian* then chosen Emperor. Under whom we read not of ought happ'ning heer; only that *Palladius* one of his great Officers was hither banish'd. This yeat *Valentinian* being Emperor, the *Attacots*, *Picts*, and *Scots* roaving up and down, and last the *Saxons* with perpetual landings and invasions harryed

Libon. Orat. 10. *Zozim. L.* 3. *Marcel.* l. 18.

Amm. l. 22.

360.

Amm. L. 20.

364.

Amm. L. 26, 27.

harryed the South Coaſt of *Britan*; ſlew *Nectaridius* who govern'd the Sea Borders, and *Bulchobaudes* with his Forces by an ambuſh. With which news *Valentinian* not a little perplext, ſends firſt *Severus* high Steward of his Houſe, and ſoon recalls him, then *Jovinus*, who intimating the neceſſity of greater ſupplies, he ſends at length *Theodoſius*, a man of try'd Valour, and Experience, Father to the firſt Emperor of that Name. He with ſelected 367.
numbers out of the Legions, and Cohorts, croſſes the Sea from *Boloigne* to *Rutupiæ*; from whence with the *Batavians*, *Herulians*, and other Legions that arriv'd ſoon after, he marches to *London*; and dividing his Forces into ſeveral Bodies, ſets upon the diſpers'd and plundring Enemie, lad'n with ſpoile; from whom recovering the booty which they led away, and were forc'd to leave there with thir lives, he reſtores all to the right owners, ſave a ſmall portion to his wearied Souldiers, and enters *London* victorioufly; which before in many ſtraits and difficulties, was now reviv'd as with a great deliverance. The numerous Enemy, with whom he had to deal, was of different Nations, and the Warr ſcatter'd: which *Theodoſius*, getting daily ſom intelligence fror fugitives and priſoners, reſolves to carry o by ſudden parties and ſurpriſals, rather than ſt Battails; nor omits he to proclam Indemnity to ſuch as would lay down Arms, and accot of Peace, which brought in many. Yet all his not ending the work, he requires that *Civis*, a man of much uprightneſs, might be ſent in,

to

to be as Deputy of the Iland, and *Dulcitius* a famous Captain. Thus was *Theodosius* busy'd, beſetting with ambuſhes the roaving Enemy, repreſſing his Roads, reſtoring Cities and Caſtles to thir former ſafety and defence, laying every where the firm foundation of a long Peace, when *Valentius* a *Pannonian* for ſome great offence baniſh'd into *Britan*, conſpiring with certain Exiles and Souldiers againſt *Theodoſius*, whoſe worth he dreaded as the only obſtacle to his greater deſign of gaining the Ile into his Power, is diſcover'd, and with his chief accomplices deliver'd over to condign puniſhment: againſt the reſt, *Theodoſius* with a wiſe lenity ſuffer'd not inquiſition to proceed too rigorouſly, leſt the fear thereof appertaining to ſo many, occaſion might ariſe of new trouble in a time ſo unſettl'd. This don, he applies himſelf to reform things out of order, raiſes on the Confines many Strong Holds; and in them appoints due and diligent watches; and ſo reduc'd all things out of danger, that the Province which but lately was under command of the Enemy, became now wholly *Roman*, new nam'd *Valentia* of *Valentinian*, and the City of *London Auguſta*. Thus *Theodoſius* nobly acquitting himſelf in all Affairs, with general applauſe of the whole Province, accompanied to the Sea-ſide, returns to *Valentinian*. Who about five years after ſent hither *Fromarius*, a King of the *Almans*, with authority of a Tribune over his own Country Forces, which then both for number and good ſervice were in high eſteem. Againſt *Gratian*

368. *Amm. L.* 28. *Zozim. L.* 4.

373. *Amm. L.* 29.

who

who succeeded in the Western Empire, *Maximus* a *Spanyard*, and one who had serv'd in the *British* Warrs with younger *Theodosius* (for he also, either with his Father, or not long after him, seems to have don somthing in this Iland) and now General of the *Roman* Armies heer, either discontented that *Theodosius* was preferr'd before him to the Empire, or constrain'd by the Souldiers who hated *Gratian*, assumes the Imperial Purple, and having attain'd Victorie against the *Scots* and *Picts*, with the Flower and Strength of *Britan*, passes into *France*; there slays *Gratian*, and without much difficultie, the space of five years, obtains his part of the Empire, overthrown at length and slain by *Theodosius*. With whom perishing most of his followers, or not returning out of *Armorica*, which *Maximus* had giv'n them to possess, the South of *Britan* by this means exhausted of her youth, and what there was of *Roman* Souldiers on the Confines drawn off, became a prey to savage Invasions; of *Scots* from the *Irish* Seas, of *Saxons* from the *German*, of *Picts* from the North. Against them, first *Chrysanthus* the Son of *Marcian* a Bishop, made Deputy of *Britan* by *Theodosius*, demean'd himself worthily: then *Stilicho* a man of great Power, whom *Theodosius*, dying, left Protector of his Son *Honorius*, either came in person, or sending over sufficent aid, repress'd them, and as it seems new fortifi'd the Wall against them. But that Legion being call'd away, when the *Roman* Armies from all parts hasted to releive *Honorius* then besieg'd in *Asta* of *Piemont*, by *Alaric*

Zozim. L. 4 Sigon.

Prosper. Aquitanic. Chron. 383.

Gildas. 388. *Beda. Ninn.*

389.

Socrat. L. 7

Claudian. de laud. Stil. l. 2. & de bel. Get. 402.

Alaric the *Goth*, *Britan* was left expos'd as before, to those Barbarous Robbers. Lest any wonder how the *Scots* came to infest *Britan* from the *Irish* Sea, it must be understood, that the *Scots* not many years before had been driven all out of *Britan* by *Maximus*; and thir King *Eugenius* slain in fight; as thir own Annals report: whereby, it seems, wandring up and down, without certain seat, they liv'd by scumming those Seas and shoars as Pirats. But more Authentic Writers confirm us, that the *Scots*, whoever they be originally, came first into *Ireland*, and dwelt there, and nam'd it *Scotia*, long before the North of *Britan* took that name. About this time, though troublesom, *Pelagius* a *Britan* found the leasure to bring new and dangerous Opinions into the Church, and is largely writ against by St. *Austin*. But the *Roman* Powers which were call'd into *Italy*, when once the fear of *Alaric* was over, made return into several Provinces: and perhaps *Victorinus* of *Tolosa*, whom *Rutilius* the Poet much commends, might be then Prefect of the Iland: if it were not he whom *Stilicho* sent hither. *Buchanan* writes, that endeavouring to reduce the *Picts* into a Province, he gave the occasion of thir calling back *Fergusius* and the *Scots*, whom *Maximus* with thir help had quite driv'n out of the Iland: and indeed the Verses of that Poet speak him to have bin active in those parts. But the time which is assign'd him later by *Buchanan* after *Gratianus Municeps*, by *Camden*, after *Constantine* the Tyrant, accords not with that which follows in the

Ethelwerd. Sax. an. Beda Epit. in the year 565. and *Beda. L.2. c. 4.* 405.

the plain course of Historie. For the *Vandals* having broke in and wasted all *Belgia*, 407.
to those places from whence easiest passage is Zozim. L. 6.
into *Britan*, the *Roman* Forces heer, doubting to be suddenly invaded, were all in uproar, and in tumultuous manner set up *Marcus*, who it may seem was then Deputy. But him Sozom. L. 9.
not found agreeable to thir heady courses, they as hastily kill: for the giddy favour of a mutining rout is as dangerous as thir furie. The like they do by *Gratian* a *British Roman*, in Oros. L. 7.
four Months advanc'd, ador'd, and destroy'd. There was among them a common Souldier whose name was *Constantine*, with him on a sudden so taken they are, upon the conceit put in them of a luckiness in his name, as without other visible merit to create him Emperor. It fortun'd that the man had not his name for nought; so well he knew to lay hold, and make good use of an unexpected offer. He therefore with a wak'n'd spirit, to the extent of his Fortune dilating his mind, which in his mean condition before lay contracted and shrunk up, orders with good advice his military affairs: and with the whole force of the Province, and what of *British* was able to bear Arms, he passes into *France*, aspiring at least to an equal share with *Honorius* in the Empire. Where by the valour of *Edobecus* a *Frank*, and *Gerontius* a *Britan*, and partly by perswasion gaining all in his way, he comes to *Arles*. With like felicity by his Son *Constans*, whom 408.
of a Monk he had made a *Cæsar*, and by the conduct of *Gerontius* he reduces all *Spain* to

his obedience. But *Constans* after this displacing *Gerontius*, the affairs of *Constantine* soon went to wrack: for he by this means alienated, 409. set up *Maximus* one of his friends against him in *Spain*; and passing into *France* took *Vienna* by assault, and having slain *Constans* in that City, calls on the *Vandals* against *Constantine*; who by him incited, as by him before they had bin repress'd, breaking forward, over-run most part of *France*. But when *Constantius* comes, the Emperor's General, with a strong power came out of *Italy*, *Gerontius* deserted by his own Forces, retires into *Spain*, where also growing into contempt with the Souldiers, after his flight out of *France*, by whom his House in the night was beset, having first with a few of his Servants defended himself valiantly, and slain above 300, though when his darts and other weapons were spent he might have scap'd at a private door, as all his Servants did, not enduring to leave his Wife *Nonnichia* whom he lov'd, to the violence of an enraged crew, he first cuts off the head of his friend *Alanus*, as were agreed; next his Wife, though loath and delaying, yet by her entreated and importun'd, refusing to outlive her Husband, he dispatches: for which her resolution *Sozomenus* an Ecclesiastic Writer gives her high praise, both as a Wife, and as a Christian. Last of all against himself he turns his Sword; but missing the mortal place, with his ponyard finishes the work. Thus farr I pourstu'd the Story of a famous *Britan*, related negligently by our other Historians. As for

Sozom. L. 6.

Olympiod. apud Photium.

Constantin.

Constantine, his ending was not answerable to his setting out: for he with his other Son *Julian* besieg'd by *Constantius* in *Arles*, and mistrusting the change of his wonted success, to save his head, poorly turns Priest; but that not availing him, is carried into *Italy*, and there put to death; having four years acted the Emperor. While these things were doing, the *Britans* at home destitute of *Roman* aid, and the chief strength of thir own youth, that went first with *Maximus*, then with *Constantine*, not returning home, vext, and harrass'd by thir wonted Enemies, had sent messages to *Honorius*; but he at that time not being able to defend *Rome* it self, which the same year was taken by *Alaric*, advises them by his Letter to consult how best they might for thir own safety, and acquits them of the *Roman* Jurisdiction. They therefore thus relinquish't, and by all right the Government relapsing into thir own hands, thenceforth betook themselves to live after thir own Laws, defending thir bounds as well as they were able, and the *Armoricans*, who not long after were call'd the *Britans* of *France*, follow'd thir Example. Thus expir'd this great Empire of the *Romans*; first in *Britan*, soon after in *Italy* it self: having born chief sway in this Iland, though never throughly subdu'd, or all at once in subjection, if we reck'n from the coming in of *Julius* to the taking of *Rome* by *Alaric*, in which year *Honorius* wrote those Letters of discharge into *Britan*, the space of 462 years. And with the Empire fell also what before in this Western

Gildas. *Beda.* *Zozim. L. 6.* *Procopius Vandalic.* *Calvisius.*

ſtern World was chiefly *Roman*; Learning, Valour, Eloquence, Hiſtory, Civility, and ee'vn Language it ſelf, all theſe together, as it were, with equal pace diminiſhing, and decaying. Henceforth we are to ſtear by another ſort of Authors; neer anough to the things they write, as in thir own Countrie, if that would ſerve; in time not much belated, ſome of equal age; in expreſſion barbarous; and to ſay how judicious, I ſuſpend a while: this we muſt expect; in civil matters to find them dubious Relaters, and ſtill to the beſt advantage of what they term Holy Church, meaning indeed themſelvs: in moſt other matters of Religion, blind, aſtoniſh'd, and ſtrook with Superſtition as with a Planet; in one word Monks. Yet theſe Guides, where can be had no better, muſt be follow'd; in groſs it may be true anough; in circumſtance each man as his judgment gives him, may reſerve his Faith or beſtow it. But ſo different a ſtate of things requires a ſeveral Relation.

The End of the Second Book.

TH

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK III.

THis Third Book having to tell of accidents as various and exemplary, as the intermission or change of Government hath any where brought forth, may deserve attention more than common, and repay it with like benefit to them who can judiciously read: considering especially that the late Civil Broils had cast us into a condition not much unlike to what the *Britans* then were in, when the Imperial Jurisdiction departing hence, left them to the sway of thir own Councils; which times by comparing seriously with these later, and that confused Anarchy with this interreign, we may be able from two such remarkable turns of State, producing like Events among us, to raise a

knowledge of our selvs both great and weighty, by judging hence what kind of men the *Britans* generally are in matters of so high enterprise, how by nature, industry, or custom fitted to attempt or undergoe matters of so main consequence: for if it be a high Point of wisdom in every private man, much more is it in a Nation to know it self; rather than puft up with vulgar flatteries, and encomiums, for want of self-knowledge, to enterprise rashly, and come off miserably in great undertakings. The *Britans* thus as we heard being left without Protection from the Empire, and the Land in a manner emptied of all her youth, consumed in Warrs abroad, or not caring to return home, themselves through long subjection, servile in mind, sloathful of body, and with the use of Arms unacquainted, sustain'd but ill for many years the violence of those barbarous Invaders, who now daily grew upon them. For although at first greedy of Change, and to be thought the leading Nation to freedom from the Empire, they seem'd a while to bestirr them with a shew of diligence in thir new affairs, som secretly aspiring to Rule, others adoring the name of Liberty, yet so soon as they felt by proof the weight of what it was to govern well themselves, and what was wanting within them, not stomach or the love of licence, but the Wisdom, the Virtue, the Labour, to use and maintain True Libertie, they soon remitted thir heat, and shrunk more wretchedly under the burden of thir own Libertie, than before under a Foren Yoak. Insomuch

Gild. Beda. Malms.

Zozim. L. 6.

somuch that the residue of those *Romans* which had planted themselves heer, despairing of thir ill deportment at home, and weak resistance in the field by those few who had the courage, or the strength to bear Arms, nine years after the sacking of *Rome* removed out of *Britain* into *France*, hiding for haste great part of thir Treasure, which was never after found. And now again the *Britans*, no longer able to support themselves against the prevailing Enemy, sollicit *Honorius* to thir Aid, with mournful Letters, Embassages and Vows of Perpetual Subjection to *Rome*, if the Northern Foe were but repuls't. He at thir request spares them one Legion, which with great slaughter of the *Scots* and *Picts* drove them beyond the Borders, rescu'd the *Britans*, and advis'd them to build a Wall cross the Iland, between Sea and Sea, from the Place where *Edenburg* now stands to the Frith of *Dumbritton*, by the City *Alcluith*. But the material being only Turf, and by the rude multitude unartificially built up without better direction, avail'd them little. For no sooner was the Legion departed, but the greedy Spoilers returning, land in great numbers from thir Boats and Pinaces, wasting, slaying, and treading down all before them. Then are Messengers again posted to *Rome* in lamentable sort, besecching that they would not suffer a whole Province to be destroy'd, and the *Roman* name, so honourable yet among them, to become the subject of barbarian scorn and insolence. The Emperor, at thir sad complaint, with what speed was possible

418. *Ethelwerd. annal. Sax*

Gildas.

422. *Diaconus. L.* 14.

Beda. L. 1 *c.* 2.

Gildas.

423.

fible ſends to thir ſuccour. Who coming ſuddenly on thoſe ravenous multitudes that mindedonly ſpoil, ſurpriſe them with a terrible ſlaughter. They who eſcap'd, fled back to thoſe Seas, from whence yearly they were wont to arrive, and return lad'n with booties. But the *Romans* who came not now to Rule, but charitably to aid, declaring that it ſtood not longer with the eaſe of thir Affairs to make ſuch laborious voyages in purſuit of ſo baſe and vagabond robbers, of whom neither glory was to be got, nor gain, exhorted them to manage thir own warfare; and to defend like men thir Country, thir Wives, thir Children, and what was to be dearer than life, thir Liberty, againſt an Enemy not ſtronger than themſelves, if thir own ſloath and cowardiſe had not made them ſo; if they would but only find hands to graſp defenſive Arms, rather than baſely ſtretch them out to receave bonds. *Bede. ibid.* They gave them alſo thir help to build a new Wall, not of earth as the former, but of ſtone (both at the public coſt, and by particular contributions) traverſing the Ile in direct line from Eaſt to Weſt, between certain Cities placed there as Frontiers to bear off the Enemy, where *Severus* had wall'd once before. They rais'd it twelve foot high, eight broad. Along the South ſhoar, becauſe from thence alſo like hoſtility was fear'd, they place Towers by the Sea ſide at certain diſtances, for ſafety of the Coaſt. Withall they inſtruct them in the Art of Warr, leaving Patterns of thir Arms and Weapons behind them; and with animating *Gildas.*

words,

words, and many lessons of valour to a faint-hearted audience, bid them finally farewell, without purpose to return. And these two friendly Expeditions, the last of any hither by the *Romans*, were perform'd, as may be gather'd out of *Beda*, and *Diaconus*, the two last years of *Honorius*. Thir Leader, as som modernly write, was *Gallio* of *Ravenna*; *Buchanan*, who departs not much from the Fables of his Predecessor *Boethius*, names him *Maximianus*, and brings against him to this Battel *Fergus* first King of *Scots* after thir second suppos'd coming into *Scotland*, *Durstus* King of *Picts*, both there slain, and *Dioneth* an imaginary King of *Britan*, or Duke of *Cornwall*, who improbably sided with them against his own Countrie, hardlie escaping. With no less exactness of particular circumstances, he takes upon him to relate all those tumultuarie inrodes of the *Scots* and *Picts* into *Britan*, as if they had but yesterday happen'd, thir order of Battel, manner of Fight, number of Slain, Articles of Peace, things whereof *Gildas* and *Beda* are utterly silent, Authors to whom the *Scotch* Writers have none to cite comparable in Antiquity; no more therefore to be beleev'd for bare assertions, however quaintlie dreſt, than our *Geofry* of *Monmouth* when he varies most from authentick storie. But either the inbred vanity of some, in that respect unworthily call'd Historians, or the fond zeal of praising thir Nations above truth hath so far transported them, that where they find nothing faithfully to relate, they fall confidently to invent

Blond.

Sabellic.

Buch. L. 5.

what

what they think may either best set off thir Historie, or Magnifie thir Countrie. The *Scots* and *Picts* in manners differing somwhat from each other, but still unanimous to rob and spoile, hearing that the *Romans* intended not to return, from the Gorroghs, or Leathern Frigats pour out themselves in swarms upon the Land, more confident than ever: and from the North end of the Ile to the very Wall side, then first took possession as Inhabitants; while the *Britans* with idle Weapons in thir hands stand trembling on the Battlements, till the half-naked Barbarians with thir long and formidable Iron hooks pull them down headlong. The rest not only quitting the Wall but Towns and Cities, leave them to the bloody pursuer, who follows killing, wasting, and destroying all in his way. From these confusions arose a Famin, and from thence Discord and Civil Commotion among the *Britans*: each man living by what he rob'd or took violently from his Neighbour. When all stores were consumed and spent where men inhabited, they betook them to the Woods, and liv'd by hunting, which was thir only sustainment. To the heaps of these evils from without, were added new divisions within the Church. For *Agricola* the Son of *Severianus* a *Pelagian* Bishop had spread his Doctrine wide among the *Britans* not uninfected before. The sounder part neither willing to embrace his Opinion to the overthrow of Divine Grace, not able to refute him, crave assistance from the Churches of *France*: who send them *Germanius* Bishop of *Auxerre*,

Gildas. Beda.

Beda. Constant.

Auxerre, and *Lupus* of *Troyes*. They by continual preaching in Churches, in Streets, in Fields, and not without Miracles, as is written, confirm'd ſom, regain'd others, and at *Verulam* in a public Diſputation put to ſilence thir Chief Adverſaries. This Reformation in the Church was beleev'd to be the cauſe of thir ſucceſs a while after in the Field. For the *Saxons* and *Picts* with joynt Force, which was no new thing before the *Saxons* at leaſt had any dwelling in this Iland, during this abode of *Germanus* heer, had made a ſtrong impreſſion from the North. The *Britans* marching out againſt them, and miſtruſting thir own Power, ſend to *Germanus* and his Collegue, repoſing more in the ſpiritual ſtrength of thoſe two men, than in thir own thouſands arm'd. They came, and thir preſence in the Camp was not leſs than if a whole Armie had come to ſecond them. It was then the time of *Lent*, and the people inſtructed by the daily Sermons of theſe two Paſtors, came flocking to receave Baptiſm. There was a place in the Camp ſet apart as a Church, and trick'd up with boughs upon *Eaſter-day*. The Enemy underſtanding this, and that the *Britans* were tak'n up with Religion more then with feats of Arms, advances, after the Paſchal Feaſt, as to a certain Victorie. *Germanus* who alſo had intelligence of thir approach, undertakes to be Captain that day; and riding out with ſelected Troops to diſcover what advantages the place might offer, lights on a Valley compaſs'd about with Hills, by which the Enemy was to paſs. And placing

429. *Proſp. Aquit.*

Math. Weſt. ad ann. 446.

430. *Conſtant. vit. Germ.*

placing there his ambush, warns them that what word they heard him pronounce aloud, the same they should repeat with universal shout. The Enemy passes on securely, and *German* thrice aloud cries *Halleluia*; which answered by the Souldiers with a sudden burst of clamour, is from the Hills and Valleys redoubled. The *Saxons* and *Picts* on a sudden supposing it the noise of a huge Hoast, throw themselvs into flight, casting down thir Arms, and great numbers of them are drown'd in the River which they had newly pass'd. This Victorie, thus won without hands, left to the *Britans* plenty of spoile, and to the person and the preaching of *Germanus* greater Authority and reverence than before. And the exploit might pass for current, if *Constantius*, the Writer of his Life in the next Age, had resolv'd us how the *British* Army came to want baptizing; for of any Paganism at that time, or long before in the Land, we read not, or that *Pelagianism* was re-baptiz'd. The place of this Victory, as is reported, was in *Flintshire* by a Town call'd *Guid-crux*; and the River *Allen*, where a field retains the name of *Maes German* to this day. But so soon as *Germanus* was return'd home, the *Scots* and *Picts*, though now so many of them Christians, that *Palladius* a Deacon was ordain'd and sent by *Celestine* the Pope to be a Bishop over them, were not so well reclaim'd, or not so many of them as to cease from doing mischief to thir Neighbours, where they found no impeachment to fall in yearly as they were wont. They therefore

Usse. Primord. p. 333.

431. *Prosp. Aquit.*

Ethelwerd. Florent. Gild. Bede.

fore of the *Britans* who perhaps were not yet wholly ruin'd, in the ſtrongeſt and South-weſt parts of the Ile, ſend Letters to *Ætius*, then third time Conſul of *Rome*, with this ſuperſcription; *To Ætius thrice Conſul, the groanes of the* Britans. And after a few words thus, *The Barbarians drive us to the Sea, the Sea drives us back to the Barbarians; thus bandied up and down between two deaths we periſh, either by the Sword or by the Sea.* But the Empire at that time overſpread with *Hunns* and *Vandals*, was not in condition to lend them aid. Thus rejected and wearied out with continual flying from place to place, but more afflicted with Famine, which then grew outrageous among them, many for hunger yielded to the Enemy, others either more reſolute, or leſs expos'd to wants, keeping within Woods and Mountainous places, not only defended themſelves, but ſallying out at length gave a ſtop to the inſulting Foe with many ſeaſonable defeats; led by ſome eminent perſon, as may be thought, who exhorted them not to truſt in thir own ſtrength, but in Divine aſſiſtance. And perhaps no other heer is meant than the foreſaid deliverance by *German*, if computation would permit, which *Gildas* either not much regarded, or might miſtake; but that he tarried ſo long heer, the Writers of his Life aſſent not. Finding therefore ſuch oppoſition, the *Scots* or *Iriſh* Robbers, for ſo they are indifferently term'd, without delay get them home. The *Picts*, as before was mention'd, then firſt began to ſettle in the utmoſt parts of the Iland, uſing

Malmsbury L. 1. c. 1. p. 8. 446.

Gildas.

using now and then to make inrodes upon the *Britans*. But they in the mean while thus ridd of their Enemies, begin afresh to Till the Ground; which after cessation yeilds her fruit in such abundance, as had not formerly bin known for many Ages. But wantonness and luxury, the wonted companions of plenty, grow up as fast, and with them, if *Gildas* deserve belief, all other Vices incident to humain corruption. That which he notes especially to be the chief perverting of all good in the Land, and so continued in his days, was the hatred of truth, and all such as durst appear to vindicate and maintain it. Against them, as against the only disturbers, all the malice of the Land was bent. Lies and falsities, and such as could best invent them, were only in request. Evil was embrac'd for good, wickedness honour'd and esteem'd as virtue. And this quality thir valour had, against a Foren Enemie to be ever backward and heartless; to Civil Broils eager and prompt. In matters of Government, and the search of Truth, weak and shallow, in falshood and wicked deeds pregnant and industrious. Pleasing to God, or not pleasing, with them weighed alike; and the worse most an end was the weightier. All things were don contrary to Public Welfare and Safety; nor only by Secular Men, for the Clergy also, whose Example should have guided others, were as vitious and corrupt. Many of them besotted with continual drunkenness; or swoln with pride and willfulness, full of contention, full of envy, indiscreet, incompetent

Judges

Judges to determine what in the practice of life is good or evil, what lawful or unlawful. Thus furnish'd with judgment, and for manners thus qualifi'd both Priest and Lay, they agree to chuse them several Kings of thir own; as neer as might be, likest themselves; and the words of my Author import as much. Kings were anointed, saith he, not of Gods anointing, but such as were cruellest, and soon after as inconsiderately, without examining the truth, put to death by thir anointers, to set up others more fierce and proud. As for the Election of thir Kings (and that they had not all one Monarch, appears both in Ages past and by the sequel) it began, as nigh as may be guess'd, either this Year or the following, when they saw the *Romans* had quite de- 447.
serted thir claim. About which time also *Pe-* *Constant. Beda.*
lagianism again prevailing by means of some few, the *British* Clergie too weak, it seems, at dispute, entreat the second time, *German* to thir assistance. Who coming with *Severus* a Disciple of *Lupus* that was his former associate, stands not now to argue, for the people generally continu'd right; but enquiring those Authors of new disturbance, adjudges them to banishment. They therefore by consent of all 448.
were deliver'd to *German*; who carrying them *Sigon. Gildas.*
over with him, dispos'd of them in such place where neither they could infect others, and were themselves under cure of better instruction. But *Germanus* the same year dy'd in *Italy*; and the *Britans* not long after found themselves again in much perplexity, with no

slight

flight rumour that thir old troublers the *Scots* and *Picts* had prepar'd a ſtrong invaſion, purpoſing to kill all, and dwell themſelves in the Land from end to end. But ere thir coming in, as if the inſtruments of Divine Juſtice had bin at ſtrife, which of them firſt ſhould deſtroy a wicked Nation, the Peſtilence foreſtalling the Sword left ſcarce alive whom to bury the dead; and for that time, as one extremity keeps off another, preſerv'd the Land from a worſe incumbrance of thoſe barbarous diſpoſ-
Malmſ. L. 1. ſeſſors, whom the Contagion gave not leave now to enter farr. And yet the *Britans* nothing better'd by theſe heavy judgments, the one threatn'd, the other felt, inſtead of acknowledging the hand of Heaven, run to the Palace of thir King *Vortigern* with complaints and cries of what they ſuddenly fear'd, from the *Pictiſh* Invaſion. *Vortigern*, who at that time was chief rather than ſole King, unleſs the reſt had perhaps left thir Dominions to the common Enemy, is ſaid by him of *Monmouth* to have procur'd the death firſt of *Conſtantine*, then of *Conſtans* his Son, who of a Monk was made King, and by that means to have uſurp'd the Crown. But they who can remember how *Conſtantine* with his Son *Conſtans* the Monk, the one made Emperor, the other *Cæſar*, periſh'd in *France*, may diſcern the ſimple fraud of this Fable. But *Vortigern* however coming to Reign, is decipher'd by truer Stories a proud unfortunate Tyrant, and yet of the people much belov'd, becauſe his Vices ſorted ſo well with theirs. For neither

was

was he skill'd in Warr, nor wiſe in Counſel, but covetous, luſtful, luxurious, and prone to to all vice; waſting the publick Treaſure in gluttony and riot, careleſs of the common danger, and through a haughty ignorance, unapprehenſive of his own. Nevertheleſs importun'd and awak'd at length by unuſual clamours of the people, he ſummons a general Council, to provide ſome better means than heertofore had been us'd againſt theſe continual annoyances from the North. Wherein by advice of all it was determin'd, that the *Saxons* be invited into *Britan* againſt the *Scots* and *Picts*; whoſe breaking in they either ſhortly expected, or already found they had not ſtrength anough to oppoſe. The *Saxons* were a barbarous and heathen Nation, famous for nothing elſe but robberies and cruelties done to all thir Neighbours both by Sea and Land; in particular to this Iland, witneſs that military force which the *Roman* Emperors maintain'd heer purpoſely againſt them, under a ſpecial Commander, whoſe title, as is found, on good record, was Count of the *Saxon* ſhoar in *Britan*; and the many miſchiefs done by thir landing heer, both alone and with the *Picts*, as above hath bin related, witneſs as much. They were a people thought by good Writers, to be deſcended of the *Sacæ*, a kind of *Scythian* in the North of *Aſia*, thence call'd *Sacaſons*, or Sons of *Sacæ*, who with a Flood of other Northern Nations came into *Europe*, toward the declining of the *Roman* Empire; and uſing Piracy from *Denmark* all along theſe

Notitiæ imperij.

Florent. Wigorn. ad an. 370.

Ethelwerd. Seas, poſſeſs'd at length by intruſion all that Coaſt of *Germany* and the *Nether-lands*, which took thence the name of old *Saxony*, lying between the *Rhine* and *Elve*, and from thence North as far as *Fidora*, the River bounding *Holſatia*, though not ſo firmly, or ſo largely, but that thir multitude wander'd yet uncertain of habitation. Such gueſts as theſe the *Britans* reſolve now to ſend for, and entreat into thir houſes and poſſeſſions, at whoſe very name heertofore they trembl'd afar off. So much do men through impatience count ever that the heavieſt which they bear at preſent, and to remove the evil which they ſuffer, care not to pull on a greater: as if variety and change in evil alſo were acceptable. Or whether it be that men in the deſpair of better, imagine fondly a kind of refuge from one miſery to another. The *Britans* therefore, with *Vortigern*, who was then accounted King over them all, reſolve in full Council to ſend Embaſſadors to thir choiceſt men with great gifts, and ſaith a *Saxon* Writer in theſe words, deſiring thir aid. *Worthy* Saxons, *hearing the fame of your proweſs, the diſtreſſed* Britans *wearied out, and overpreſt by a continual invading Enemy, have ſent us to beſeech your aid. They have a Land fertile and ſpatious, which to your commands they bid us ſurrender. Heertofore we have liv'd with freedom, under the obedience and protection of the* Roman *Empire. Next to them we know none worthier than your ſelves; and therefore become ſuppliants to your valour. Leave us not below our preſent Enemies, and to ought by you impos'd, willingly*

Ethelwerd. Malmsbur. Witichind. geſt. Sax. L. 1. p. 3.

lingly we ſhall ſubmit. Yet *Ethelwerd* writes not that they promis'd ſubjection, but only amity and league. They therefore who had chief rule among them, hearing themſelves entreated by the *Britans*, to that which gladly they would have wiſh'd to obtain of them by entreating, to the *Britiſh* Embaſſy return this anſwer. Be aſſur'd henceforth of the *Saxons*, as of faithful friends to the *Britans*, no leſs ready to ſtand by them in thir need, than in thir beſt of fortune. The Embaſſadors return joyful, and with news as welcome to thir Countrie, whoſe ſiniſter fate had now blinded them for deſtruction. The *Saxons*, conſulting firſt thir Gods (for they had anſwer, that the Land whereto they went, they ſhould hold 300 years, half that time conquering, and half quietly poſſeſſing) furniſh out three long Gallies, or Kyules, with a chos'n company of warlike youth, under the conduct of two Brothers, *Hengiſt* and *Horſa*, deſcended in the fourth degree from *Woden*; of whom, deify'd for the fame of his acts, moſt Kings of thoſe Nations derive thir pedigree. Theſe, and either mixt with theſe, or ſoon after by themſelves, two other Tribes, or neighbouring people, *Jutes* and *Angles*, the one from *Jutland*, the other from *Anglen* by the City of *Sleſwich*, both Provinces of *Denmark*, arrive in the first year of *Martian* the *Greek* Emperor, from the birth of Chriſt 450, receav'd with much good will of the People firſt, then of the King, who after ſome aſſurances giv'n and tak'n, beſtows on them the Ile of *Tanet*, where they firſt land-

Malmſ. *Witichind.* *Gildas.* *Bede.* 450. *Nennius.* *Malmſ.*

ed, hoping they might be made heerby more eager againſt the *Picts*, when they fought as for thir own Countrie, and more loyal to the *Britans*, from whom they had receav'd a place to dwell in, which before they wanted. The *Britiſh Nennius* writes, that theſe Brethren were driv'n into exile out of *Germany*, and to *Vortigern* who reigned in much fear, one while of the *Picts*, then of the *Romans*, and *Ambroſius*, came opportunely into the Hav'n. For it was the cuſtom in old *Saxony*, when thir numerous off-ſpring overflow'd the narrowneſs of thir bounds, to ſend them out by lot into new dwellings, where-ever they found room, either vacant or to be forc't. But whether ſought, or unſought, they dwelt not heer long without employment. For the *Scots* and *Picts* were now come down, ſom ſay, as far as *Stamford* in *Linconſhire*, whom, perhaps not imagining to meet new oppoſition, the *Saxons*, though not till after a ſharp encounter, put to flight; and that more than once: ſlaying in fight, as ſom *Scotch* Writers affirm, thir King *Eugenius* the Son of *Fergus*. *Hengiſt* perceaving the Iland to be rich and fruitful, but her Princes and other Inhabitants giv'n to vicious eaſe, ſends word home, inviting others to a ſhare of his good ſucceſs. Who returning with ſeventeen Ships, were grown up now to a ſufficient Army, and entertain'd without ſuſpicion on theſe terms, that they ſhould bear the brunt of War againſt the *Picts*, receaving ſtipend and ſom place to inhabit. With theſe was brought over the Daughter of *Hengiſt*, a Virgin

Malmsb.

Henry Huntingd.

Eſtbelwerd.

Bed. Nin.

Ninn.

Virgin wondrous fair, as is reported, *Rowen* the *Britiſh* call her: ſhe by commandment of her Father, who had invited the King to a Banquet, coming in preſence with a Bowle of Wine to welcome him, and to attend on his Cup till the Feaſt ended, won ſo much upon his Fancy, though already wiv'd, as to demand her in mariage upon any conditions. *Hengiſt* at firſt, though it fell out perhaps according to the drift, held off, excuſing his meaneneſs; then obſcurely intimating a deſire and almoſt a neceſſity, by reaſon of his augmented numbers, to have his narrow bounds of *Tanet* enlarg'd to the Circuit of *Kent*, had it ſtreit by donation: though *Guorangonus* till then was King of that place: and ſo, as it were overcome by the great munificence of *Vortigern*, gave his Daughter. And ſtill encroaching on the Kings favour, got furder leave to call over *Octa* and *Ebiſſa*, his own and his Brothers Son; pretending that they, if the North were giv'n them, would ſit there as a continual defence againſt the *Scots*, while himſelf guarded the Eaſt. They therefore ſayling with forty Ships eev'n to the *Orcades*, and every way curbing the *Scots* and *Picts*, poſſeſs'd that part of the Ile which is now *Northumberland*. *Gild. Bede. Ninn.* Notwithſtanding this they complain that thir monthly pay was grown much into arrear; which when the *Britans* found means to ſatisfie, though alleging withall that they to whom promiſe was made of wages, were nothing ſo many in number, quieted with this a while, but ſtill ſeeking occaſion to fall off, they find

fault next, that thir pay is too ſmall for the danger they undergo, threatning op'n Warr unleſs it be augmented. *Guortimer* the King's Son perceaving his Father and the Kingdom thus betray'd, from that time bends his utmoſt endeavour to drive them out. They on the other ſide making League with the *Picts* and *Scots*, and iſſuing out of *Kent*, waſted without reſiſtance almoſt the whole Land eev'n to the Weſtern Sea, with ſuch a horrid devaſtation, that Towns and Colonies overturn'd, Prieſts and People ſlain, Temples and Palaces what with Fire and Sword lay altogether heaped in one mixt ruin. Of all which multitude, ſo great was the ſinfullneſs that brought this upon them, *Gildas* adds that few or none were likely to be other than lew'd and wicked perſons. The reſidue of theſe, part overtak'n in the Mountains were ſlain; others ſubdu'd with hunger preferr'd ſlavery before inſtant death; ſom getting to Rocks, Hills and Woods inacceſſible, preferr'd the fear and danger of any Death before the ſhame of a ſecure ſlavery; many fled over Sea into other Countries; ſom into *Holland*, where yet remain the ruins of *Brittenburgh*, an old Caſtle on the Sea, to be ſeen at low water not far from *Leiden*; either built, as Writers of thir own affirm, or ſeis'd on by thoſe *Britans* in thir eſcape from *Hengiſt*: Others into *Armorica*, peopl'd, as ſom think, with *Britans* long before; either by guift of *Conſtantine* the *Great*, or elſe of *Maximus* to thoſe *Britiſh* Forces which had ſerv'd them in Forein Warrs; to whom thoſe alſo that

Primord. pag. 418.

Malmſb. L. 1 *c.* 1. *Huntingd. L.* 1.

that miscarried not with the latter *Constantine* at *Arles*: and lastly, these exiles driv'n out by *Saxons*, fled for refuge. But the antient Chronicles of those Provinces attest thir coming thether to be then first when they fled the *Saxons*, and indeed the name of *Britan* in *France* is not read till after that time. Yet how a sort of Fugitives, who had quitted without stroke thir own Country, should so soon win another, appears not; unless joyn'd to som part of thir own settl'd there before. *Vortigern* nothing better'd by these Calamities, grew at last so obdurat as to commit incest with his Daughter, tempted or tempting him out of an ambition to the Crown. For which being censur'd and condemn'd in a great Synod of *Clercs*, and *Laics*, and partly for fear of the *Saxons*, according to the Counsel of his Peers he retir'd into *Wales*, and built him there a strong Castle in *Radnorshire*, by the advice of *Ambrosius* a young Prophet, whom others call *Merlin*. Nevertheless *Faustus*, who was the Son thus incestuously begott'n, under the instructions of *German*, or some of his Disciples, for *German* was dead before, prov'd a Religious man, and liv'd in devotion by the River *Remnis* in *Glamorganshire*. But the *Saxons*, though finding it so easie to subdue the Ile, with most of thir Forces, uncertain for what cause, return'd home: when as the easiness of thir Conquest might seem rather likely to have call'd in more. Which makes more probable that which the *British* write of *Guortemir*. For he coming to Reign, instead of his Father de-

Ninn. *Malmsb.* *Ninn.* *Gildas.* *Ninn.*

pos'd for Inceſt is ſaid to have thrice driv'n and beſeig'd the *Saxons* in the Ile of *Taneth*; and when they iſſu'd out with powerful ſupplies ſent from *Saxony*, to have fought with them fowr other Battells, whereof three are nam'd; the fitſt on the River *Darwent*, the ſecond at *Episford*, wherin *Horſa* the Brother of *Hengiſt* fell, and on the *Britiſh* part *Catigern* the other Son of *Vortigern*. The third in a Field by *Stonar* than call'd *Lapis tituli* in *Tanet*, where he beat them into thir Ships that bore them home, glad to have ſo ſcap'd, and not venturing to Land again for five years after. In the ſpace whereof *Guortemir* dying, commanded they ſhould bury him in the Port of *Stonar*; perſwaded that his bones lying there would be terror anough to keep the *Saxons* from ever landing in that place: They, ſaith *Nennius*, neglecting his command, buried him in *Lincoln*. But concerning theſe times, antienteſt Annals of the *Saxons* relate in this manner. In the year 455 *Hengiſt* and *Horſa* fought againſt *Vortigern*, in a place call'd *Egleſthrip*, now *Ailsford* in *Kent*; where *Horſa* loſt his life, of whom *Horſted*, the place of his burial, took name. After this firſt Battel and the death of his Brother, *Hengiſt* with his Son *Eſca* took on him Kingly Title, and peopl'd *Kent* with *Jutes*; who alſo then or not long after poſſeſs'd the Ile of *Wight*, and part of *Hamſhire* lying oppoſite. Two years after in a fight at *Creganford*, or *Craford*, *Hengiſt* and his Son ſlew of the *Britans* four Chief Commanders, and as many thouſand men: the reſt in great diſ-

455. *Bede. Ethelwerd. Florent. Annal. Sax.* The Kingdome of *Kent.*

457.

order

order flying to *London*, with the total loſs of *Kent*. And eight years paſſing between, he 465.
made new Warr on the *Britans*; of whom in a Battel at *Weppeds-fleot*, twelve Princes were ſlain, and *Wipped* the *Saxon* Earl, who left his name to that place, though not ſufficient to direct us where it now ſtands. His laſt en- 473.
counter was at a place not mention'd, where he gave them ſuch an overthrow, that flying in great fear they left the ſpoil of all to thir Enemies. And theſe perhaps are the four Battels, according to *Nennius*, fought by *Guortemir*, though by theſe Writers far differently related; and happ'ning, beſides many other bickerings, in the ſpace of twenty years, as *Malmsbury* reck'ns. Nevertheleſs it plainly appears that the *Saxons*, by whomſoever, were put to hard ſhifts, being all this while fought withall in *Kent*, thir own allotted dwelling, and ſomtimes on the very edge of the Sea, which the word *Wippeds-fleot* ſeems to intimat. *Nennius.*
But *Guortemir* now dead, and none of courage left to defend the Land, *Vortigern* either by the power of his faction, or by conſent of all, reaſſumes the Government: and *Hengiſt* thus rid of his grand oppoſer, hearing gladly the reſtorement of his old favourer, returns again with great Forces; but to *Vortigern* whom he well knew how to handle without warring, as to his Son-in-Law, now that the only Author of diſſention between them was remov'd by Death, offers nothing but all terms of new league and amity. The King, both for his Wives ſake and his own ſottiſhneſs, conſulting

ing also with his Peers not unlike himself, readily yields; and the place of parly is agree'd on; to which either side was to repair without Weapons. *Hengist*, whose meaning was not peace but treachery, appointed his men to be secretly arm'd, and acquainted them to what intent. The watch-word was *Nemet eour Saxes*, that is, *Draw your Daggers*; which they observing, when the *Britans* were throughly heated with Wine (for the Treaty it seems was not without Cups) and provok'd, as was plotted, by some affront, dispatch'd with those Poniards every one his next man, to the number of 300, the chief of those that could do ought against him either in Counsel or in Field. *Vortigern* they only bound and kept in Custody, until he granted them for his ransom three Provinces, which were called afterward *Essex*, *Sussex*, and *Middlesex*. Who thus dismist, retiring again to his solitary abode in his Country of *Guorthigirniaun*, so call'd by his name, from thence to the Castle of his own building in *North-Wales* by the River *Tiebi*; and living there obscurely among his Wives, was at length burnt in his Tower by fire from Heav'n, at the Prayer, as some say, of *German*, but that coheres not; as others, by *Ambrosius Aurelian*; of whom as we have heard at first, he stood in great fear, and partly for that cause invited in the *Saxons*. Who whether by constraint, or of thir own accord, after much mischief don, most of them returning back into thir own Country, left a fair opportunity to the *Britans* of revenging themselves the easier on

Malmsb.

Nin. ex legend.
St. Ger.
Galfrid. Monmouth.

on thoſe that ſtaid behind. Repenting therefore, and with earneſt ſupplication imploring divine help to prevent thir final rooting out, they gather from all parts, and under the leading of *Ambroſius Aurelianus*, a vertuous and modeſt man, the laſt heer of *Roman* ſtock, advancing now onward againſt the late Victors, defeat them in a memorable Battel. Common opinion, but grounded chiefly on the *Britiſh* Fables, makes this *Ambroſius* to be a younger Son of that *Conſtantine*, whoſe eldeſt, as we heard, was *Conſtance* the Monk: who both loſt thir lives abroad uſurping the Empire. But the expreſs words both of *Gildas* and *Bede*, aſſures us that the Parents of this *Ambroſius* having heer born regal dignity, were ſlain in theſe *Pictiſh* Warrs and Commotions in the Iland. And if the fear of *Ambroſe* induc'd *Vortigern* to call in the *Saxons*, it ſeems *Vortigern* uſurp'd his right. I perceave not that *Nennius* makes any difference between him and *Merlin*: for that Child without Father that propheci'd to *Vortigern*, he names not *Merlin* but *Ambroſe*, makes him the Son of a Roman Conſul; but conceal'd by his Mother, as fearing that the King therefore ſought his life; yet the youth no ſooner had confeſs'd his Parentage, but *Vortigern* either in reward of his predictions, or as his right, beſtow'd upon him all the Weſt of *Britan*; himſelf retiring to a ſolitary life. Whoſe ever Son he was, he was the firſt, according to ſureſt Authors, that led againſt the *Saxons*, and overthrew them; but whether before this time or after, none have writt'n. *Gild. Bede.*

This

This is certain, that in a time when moſt of the *Saxon* Forces were departed home, the *Britans* gather'd ſtrength; and either againſt thoſe who were left remaining, or againſt thir whole powers, the ſecond time returning obtain'd this Victory. Thus *Ambroſe* as Chief Monarch of the Ile ſucceeded *Vortigern*; to whoſe third Son *Paſcentius* he permitted the rule of two Regions in *Wales*, *Buelth*, and *Guorthigirniaun*. In his daies, ſaith *Nennius*, the *Saxons* prevail'd not much: againſt whom *Arthur*, as being then Cheif General for the *Britiſh* Kings, made great Warr; but more renown'd in Songs and Romances, than in true ſtories. And the ſequal it ſelf declares as much. For in the year 477 *Ella* the *Saxon*, with his three Sons, *Cymen*, *Pleting*, and *Ciſſa*, at a place in *Suſſex* call'd *Cymenſhore*, arrive in three Ships, kill many of the *Britans*, chaſing them that remain'd into the Wood *Andreds League*. Another Battel was fought at *Mercreds-Burnamſted*, wherin *Ella* had by far the Victory; but *Huntingdon* makes it ſo doubtful, that the *Saxons* were conſtrain'd to ſend home for ſupplies. Four year after dy'd *Hengiſt* the firſt *Saxon* King of *Kent*; noted to have attain'd that dignity by craft, as much as valour, and giving ſcope to his own cruel nature, rather than proceeding by mildneſs or civility. His Son *Oeric* ſurnam'd *Oiſc*, of whom the *Kentiſh* Kings were call'd *Oiſcings*, ſucceeded him, and ſate content with his Fathers winnings; more deſirous to ſettle and defend, than to enlarge his bounds: he reign'd twenty four

Nenn.

477. *Sax. An. Ethelw. Florent.*

485. *Florent. Hunting.*

489. *Malmſb.*

Bed. L. 2. c. 5.

four years. By this time *Ella* and his Son *Ciſſa*, beſeiging *Andred-cheſter*, ſuppos'd now to be *Newenden* in *Kent*, take it by force, and all within it put to the Sword. Thus *Ella* three years after the death of *Hengiſt*, began his Kingdom of the *South-Saxons*; peopling it with new Inhabitants, from the Country which was then old *Saxony*, at this day *Holſtein* in *Denmarke*, and had beſides at his Command all thoſe Provinces which the *Saxons* had won on this ſide *Humber*. Animated with theſe good ſucceſſes, as if *Britan* were become now the field of *Fortune*, *Kerdic* another *Saxon* Prince, the tenth by Linage from *Woden*, an old and practis'd Souldier, who in many proſperous conflicts againſt the Enemy in thoſe parts, had nurs'd up a Spirit too big to live at home with equals, coming to a certain place which from thence took the name of *Kerdic-ſhoar*, with five Ships, and *Kenric* his Son, the very ſame day overthrew the *Britans* that oppos'd him; and ſo effectually, that ſmaller skirmiſhes after that day were ſufficient to drive them ſtill furder off, leaving him a large territory. After him *Porta* another *Saxon* with his two Sons *Bida* and *Megla*, in two Ships arrive at *Portsmouth* thence call'd, and at thir landing ſlew a young *Britiſh* Nobleman, with many others who unaviſedly ſet upon them. The *Britans* to recover what they had loſt, draw together all thir Forces led by *Natanleod*, or *Nazaleod*, a certain King in *Britan*, and the greateſt, ſaith one; but him with 5000 of his men *Kerdic* puts to rout and ſlaies. From whence the place in

492. *Camden.*

The Kingdome of *South-Saxons.*

Bed. L. 1. c. 15 & L. 2. c. 5,

Sax. An. omn.

495.

501.

Sax. an. omn. Hunt.

508.

Ann. omn. Huntingd. Camden.

in *Hantſhire*, as farr as *Kirdicsford*, now *Chardford*, was call'd of old *Nazaleod*. Who this King ſhould be, hath bred much queſtion; ſom think it to be the *Britiſh* name of *Ambroſe*; others to be the right name of his Brother, who for the terror of his eagerneſs in fight, became more known by the Sirname of *Uther*, which in the *Welch* Tongue ſignifies Dreadful. And if ever ſuch a King in *Britan* there were as *Uther Pendragon*, for ſo alſo the *Monmouth* Book ſurnames him, this in all likelihood muſt be he. *Kerdic* by ſo great a blow giv'n to the *Britans* had made large room about him; not only for the men he brought with him, but for ſuch alſo of his friends, as he deſir'd to make great; for which cauſe, and withall the more to ſtrengthen himſelf, his two Nefews *Stuf*, and *Withgar*, in three Veſſels bring him new levies to *Kerdic* ſhoar. Who that they might not come ſluggiſhly to poſſeſs what others had won for them, either by thir own ſeeking, or by appointment, are ſet in place where they could not but at thir firſt coming give proof of themſelves upon the Enemy: and ſo well they did it, that the *Britans* after a hard encounter left them Maſters of the field. About the ſame time, *Ella* the firſt *South-Saxon* King dy'd; whom *Ciſſa* his youngeſt ſucceeded; the other two failing before him. Nor can it be much more or leſs than about this time, for it was before the *Weſt-Saxon* Kingdom, that *Uffa* the eighth from *Woden* made himſelf King of the *Eaſt-Angles*; who by thir name teſtifie the Country above mention'd; from whence they

Camd. Uſſ. primord.

514. *An. omn.*

Huntingd.

The Kingdome of *Eaſt-Angl.*

came

came in such multitudes, that thir native soil is said to have remain'd in the daies of *Beda* uninhabited. *Huntingdon* deferrs the time of thir coming in, to the ninth year of *Kerdic*'s Reigne: for saith he, at first many of them strove for principality, seising every one his Province, and for some while so continued, making petty Warrs among themselves; till in the end *Uffa*, of whom those Kings were call'd *Uffings*, overtop'd them all in the year 571, then *Titilus* his Son, the Father of *Redwald*, who became potent. And not much after the *East-Angles*, began also the *East-Saxons* to erect a Kingdom under *Sleda* the tenth from *Woden*. But *Huntingdon*, as before, will have it later by eleven years, and *Erchenwin* to be the first King. *Kerdic* the same in power, though not so fond of Title, forbore the name twenty four years after his arrival; but then founded so firmly the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, that it subjected all the rest at length, and became the sole Monarchie of *England*. The same year he had a Victory against the *Britans* at *Kerdics-Ford*, by the River *Aven*: and after eight years, another great fight at *Kerdics League*, but which won the day is not by any set down. Hitherto hath bin collected what there is of certainty with circumstance of time and place to be found register'd, and no more than barely register'd in Annals of best Note; without describing after *Huntingdon* the manner of those Battels and Encounters, which they who compare, and can judge of Books, may be confident he never found in any current

Malms. L. 1. c. 5. *Bed. L. 1. c. 15.* *Huntingd. L. 2. p. 313. 315.* *Bede. L. 2. c. 15.* *Malm. L. 1. c. 6.*

The King. dome of *East-Sax.* 519.

The King. dome of *West-Sax.* 527.

Sax. an. omn.

rent Author whom he had to follow. But this diſeaſe hath bin incident to many more Hiſtorians: and the Age wherof we now write, hath had the ill hap, more than any ſince the firſt fabulous times, to be ſurcharg'd with all the idle fancies of Poſterity. Yet that we may not rely altogether on *Saxon* Relaters, *Gildas*, in Antiquity far before theſe, and every way more credible, ſpeaks of theſe Warrs in ſuch a manner, though nothing conceited of the *Britiſh* Valour, as declares the *Saxons* in his time and before to have bin foyl'd not ſeldomer than the *Britans*. For beſides that firſt Victory of *Ambroſe*, and the interchangeable ſucceſs long after, he tells that the laſt overthrow which they receav'd at *Badon* Hill, was not the leaſt; which they in thir oldeſt Annals mention not at all. And becauſe the time of this Battel, by any who could do more than gueſs, is not ſet down, or any foundation giv'n from whence to draw a ſolid compute, it cannot be much wide to inſert it in this place. For ſuch Authors as we have to follow, give the conduct and praiſe of this exploit to *Arthur*; and that this was the laſt of twelv great Battells which he fought victoriouſly againſt the *Saxons*. The ſeveral places writt'n by *Nennius* in thir *Welch* names, were many hunder'd years ago unknown, and ſo heer omitted. But who *Arthur* was, and whether ever any ſuch reign'd in *Britan*, hath bin doubted heertofore, and may again with good reaſon. For the Monk of *Malmsbury*, and others whoſe credit hath ſway'd moſt with the learneder ſort, we may well

Nenn.

well perceave to have known no more of this *Arthur* 500 years past, nor of his doings, than we now living; And what they had to say, transcrib'd out of *Nennius*, a very trivial Writer yet extant, which hath already bin related. Or out of a *British* Book, the same which he of *Monmouth* set forth, utterly unknown to the world, till more than 600 years after the daies of *Arthur*, of whom (as *Sigebert* in his Chronicle confesses) all other Histories were silent, both Forein and Domestic, except only that fabulous Book. Others of later time have sought to assert him by old Legends and Cathedral regests. But he who can accept of Legends for good story, may quickly swell a volume with trash, and had need be furnish'd with two only necessaries, leasure and beleif, whether it be the writer, or he that shall read. As to *Artur*, no less is in doubt who was his Father; for if it be true as *Nennius* or his Notist avers, that *Artur* was call'd *Mab-Uther*, that is to say, a cruel Son, for the fierceness that men saw in him of a Child, and the intent of his name *Arturus* imports as much, it might well be that som in after Ages who sought to turn him into a Fable, wrested the word *Uther* into a proper name, and so fain'd him the Son of *Uther*; since we read not in any certain story, that ever such person liv'd, till *Geffry* of *Monmouth* set him off with the sirname of *Pendragon*: And as we doubted of his parentage, so may we also of his puissance; for whether that Victory at *Badon* Hill were his or no, is uncertain; *Gildas* not naming him, as he did *Ambrose* in

the former. Next, if it be true as *Caradoc* relates, that *Melvas* King of that Country which is now *Summerſet*, kept from him *Gueniver* his Wife a whole year in the Town of *Glaſton*, and reſtor'd her at the entreaty of *Gildas*, rather than for any enforcement, that *Artur* with all his Chivalry could make againſt a ſmall Town defended only by a moory ſituation; had either his knowledge in War, or the force he had to make, bin anſwerable to the fame they bear, that petty King had neither dar'd ſuch an affront, nor he bin ſo long, and at laſt without effect, in revenging it. Conſidering laſtly how the *Saxons* gain'd upon him every where all the time of his ſuppos'd reign, which began, as ſom write, in the tenth year of *Kerdic*, who wrung from him by long warr the Countries of *Summerſet*, and *Hamſhire*; there will remain neither place nor circumſtance in ſtory, which may adminiſter any likelihood of thoſe great Acts that are aſcribed him. This only is alleg'd by *Nennius* in *Artur*'s behalf, that the *Saxons*, though vanquiſh't never ſo oft, grew ſtill more numerous upon him by continual ſupplies out of *Germany*. And the truth is, that valour may be over-toil'd, and overcom at laſt with endleſs overcoming. But as for this Battell of Mount *Badon* where the *Saxons* were hemm'd in, or beſeig'd, whether by *Artur* won, or whenſoever, it ſeems indeed to have giv'n a moſt undoubted and important blow to the *Saxons*, and to have ſtop'd thir proceedings for a good while after. *Gildas* himſelf witneſſing

Caradoc. Llancarven. vit. Gildas.

Malmsb. Antiquit. Glaſton. 529.

Primord. pag. 468. *Polychronic. L.* 5. *c.* 6

ſing that the *Britans* having thus compel'd them to ſit down with peace, fell thereupon to civil diſcord among themſelvs. Which words may ſeem to let in ſome light toward the ſearching out when this Battel was fought. And we ſhall find no time ſince the firſt *Saxon* Warr, from whence a longer peace enſu'd, than from the fight of *Kerdics Leage* in the year 527, which all the Chronicles mention, without Victory to *Kerdic*; and gave us argument from the cuſtom they have of magnifying thir own deeds upon all occaſions, to preſume heer his ill ſpeeding. And if we look ſtill onward, eev'n to the 44th year after, wherin *Gildas* wrote, if his obſcure utterance be underſtood, we ſhall meet with very little Warr between the *Britans* and *Saxons*. This only remains difficult, that the Victory firſt won by *Ambroſe*, was not ſo long before this at *Badon* Seige, but that the ſame men living might be eye-witneſſes of both; and by this rate hardly can the latter be thought won by *Artur*, unleſs we reck'n him a grown youth at leaſt in the daies of *Ambroſe*, and much more than a youth, if *Malmsbury* be heard, who affirms all the exploits of *Ambroſe*, to have bin don cheifly by *Artur* as his General, which will add much unbelief to the common aſſertion of his reigning after *Ambroſe* and *Uther*, eſpecially the fight at *Badon* being the laſt of his twelv Battels. But to prove by that which follows, that the fight at *Kerdics Leage*, though it differ in name from that of *Badon*, may be thought the ſame by all effects; *Kerdic* three

Gildas.

Sax. an. omn. years after, not proceeding onward, as his manner was, on the continent, turns back his Forces on the Ile of *Wight*; which with the ſlaying of a few only in *Withgarburgh*, he ſoon maiſters; and not long ſurviving, left it to
534. his Nefews by the Mothers ſide, *Stuff* and *With-*
544. *gar*; the reſt of what he had ſubdu'd, *Kenric* his Son held; and reign'd 26 years, in whoſe tenth year *Withgar* was buried in the Town of that Iland which bore his name. Notwithſtanding all theſe unlikelihoods of *Artur*'s Reign and great Acheivments, in a narration crept in I know not how among the Laws of *Edward* the *Confeſſor*, *Artur* the famous King of *Britans*, is ſaid not only to have expell'd hence the *Saracens*, who were not then known in *Europe*, but to have conquer'd *Freeſland*, and all the North-Eaſt Iles as far as *Ruſſia*, to have made *Lapland*, the Eaſtern bound of his Empire, and *Norway* the Chamber of *Britan*. When ſhould this be done? from the *Saxons*, till after twelve Battels, he had no reſt at home; after thoſe, the *Britans* contented with the quiet they had from thir *Saxon* Enemies, were ſo far from ſeeking Conqueſts abroad, that, by report of *Gildas* above cited, they fell to Civil Warrs at home. Surely *Artur* much better had made War in old *Saxony*, to repreſs thir flowing hither, than to have won Kingdoms as far as *Ruſſia*, ſcarce able heer to defend his own. *Buchanan* our Neighbour Hiſtorian reprehends him of *Monmouth* and others for fabling in the deeds of *Artur*, yet what he writes thereof himſelf, as of better credit,

ſhews

ſhews not whence he had but from thoſe Fables; which he ſeems content to beleive in part, on condition that the *Scots* and *Picts* may be thought to have aſſiſted *Arthur* in all his Wars and Atchievments, whereof appears as little ground by any credible ſtory, as of that which he moſt counts Fabulous. But not further to conteſt about ſuch uncertainties. In the year 547, *Ida* the *Saxon*, ſprung alſo from *Woden* in the tenth degree, began the Kingdome of *Bernicia* in *Northumberland*; built the Town *Bebbanburg*, which was after wall'd; and had twelve Sons, half by Wives, and half by Concubines. *Hengiſt* by leave of *Vortigern*, we may remember, had ſent *Octa* and *Ebiſſa* to ſeek them ſeats in the North, and there by warring on the *Picts*, to ſecure the Southern parts. Which they ſo prudently effected, that what by force and fair proceeding, they well quieted thoſe Countries; and though ſo far diſtant from *Kent*, nor without power in thir hands, yet kept themſelves nigh 180 years within moderation; and as Inferiour Governours, they and thir off-ſpring gave obedience to the Kings of *Kent*, as to the elder Family. Till at length following the example of that Age; when no leſs than Kingdoms were the prize of every fortunate Commander, they thought it but reaſon, as well as others of thir Nation, to aſſume Royalty. Of whom *Ida* was the firſt, a man in the prime of his years, and of Parentage as we heard; but how he came to wear the Crown, aſpiring or by free choiſe, is not ſaid. Certain enough it is, that his ver-

547. The Kingdome of *Northumberland*. *An. omn. Bed. Epit. Malmſb.*

Malmſ.

tures made him not less Noble than his birth, in Warr undaunted, and unfoil'd; in Peace tempring the aw of Magistracy, with a natural mildness: he raign'd about twelv years. In the
552. mean while *Kenric* in a fight at *Searesbirig*, now
Annal. omn. *Salsbury*, kill'd and put to flight many of the
556. *Britans*; and the fourth year after at *Beran-*
Camden. *virig*, now *Banbury*, as som think, with *Keaulin* his Son put them again to flight. *Keaulin* shortly after succeeded his Father in the *West-*
560. *Saxons*. And *Alla* descended also of *Woden*,
Annal. Florent. but by another Line, set up a second Kingdom in *Deira* the South part of *Northumberland*, and held it thirty years; while *Adda* the Son of *Ida*, and five more after him reign'd without other memory in *Bernicia*: and in *Kent*,
561. *Ethelbert* the next year began. For *Esca* the Son of *Hengist* had left *Otha*, and he *Emeric* to Rule after him; both which without adding to thir bounds, kept what they had in Peace fifty three years. But *Ethelbert* in length of Reign equal'd both his Progenitors, and as
Malmsb. *Beda* counts, three years exceeded. Young at his first entrance, and unexperienc'd, he was the first raiser of Civil Warr among the *Saxons*; claiming from the priority of time wherin *Hengist* took possession here, a kind of right over the later Kingdoms; and thereupon was troublesome to thir Confines: but by them twice defeated, he who but now thought to seem dreadfull, became almost contemptible.
Ann. omn. For *Keaulin* and *Cutha* his Son, persuing him
568. into his own Territory, slew there in Battel, at *Wibbandun*, two of his Earls, *Oslac*, and *Cneb-*

ban.

ban. By this means the *Britans*, but cheifly by this Victory at *Badon*, for the ſpace of fourty four years ending in 571, receav'd no great annoyance from the *Saxons*: but the peace they enjoy'd, by ill uſing it, prov'd more deſtructive to them than War. For being rais'd on a ſudden by two ſuch eminent ſucceſſes, from the loweſt condition of thraldome, they whoſe Eyes had beheld both thoſe deliverances, that by *Ambroſe*, and this at *Badon*, were taught by the experience of either Fortune, both Kings, Magiſtrates, Prieſts, and private men, to live orderly. But when the next Age, unacquainted with paſt Evils, and only ſenſible of thir preſent eaſe and quiet, ſucceeded, ſtrait follow'd the apparent ſubverſion of all truth, and juſtice, in the minds of moſt men: ſcarce the leaſt footſtep, or impreſſion of goodneſs left remaining through all ranks and degrees in the Land; except in ſom ſo very few, as to be hardly viſible in a general corruption: which grew in ſhort ſpace not only manifeſt, but odious to all the Neighbour Nations. And firſt thir Kings, among whom alſo, the Sons or Grand-Children of *Ambroſe*, were foully degenerated to all Tyranny and Vitious Life. Whereof to hear ſom particulars out of *Gildas* will not be impertinent. They avenge, ſaith he, and they protect; not the innocent, but the guilty: they ſwear oft, but perjure; they wage Warr, but civil and unjuſt Warr. They puniſh rigorouſly them that rob by the high way; but thoſe grand Robbers that ſit with them at Table, they honour and reward. They *Gildas.*

give alms largely, but in the face of thir Alms-deeds, pile up wickedneſs to a far higher heap. They ſit in the ſeat of Judgment, but go ſeldome by the rule of right; neglecting and proudly overlooking the modeſt and harmleſs; but countenancing the audacious, though guilty of abominableſt crimes; they ſtuff thir Priſons, but with men committed rather by circumvention, than any juſt cauſe. Nothing better were the Clergy, but at the ſame paſs or rather worſe, than when the *Saxons* came firſt in; Unlearned, Unapprehenſive, yet impudent; ſuttle Prowlers, Paſtors in Name, but indeed Wolves; intent upon all occaſions, not to feed the Flock, but to pamper and well line themſelves: not call'd, but ſeiſing on the Miniſtry as a Trade, not as a Spiritual Charge: teaching the People, not by ſound Doctrin, but by evil Example: uſurping the Chair of *Peter*, but through the blindneſs of thir own worldly luſts, they ſtumble upon the Seat of *Judas:* deadly haters of truth, broachers of lies: looking on the poor Chriſtian with Eyes of pride and Contempt; but fawning on the wickedeſt rich men without ſhame: great promoters of other mens Alms with thir ſet Exhortations; but themſelves contributing ever leaſt; ſlightly touching the many Vices of the Age, but preaching without end thir own greivances, as done to Chriſt; ſeeking after preferments and degrees in the Church more than after Heav'n; and ſo gain'd, make it thir whole ſtudy how to keep them by any Tyranny. Yet leſt they ſhould be thought things of

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no uſe in thir eminent places, they have thir niceties and trival points to keep in awe the ſuperſtitious multitude; but in true ſaving knowledge leave them ſtill as groſs and ſtupid as themſelves; bunglers at the Scripture, nay forbidding and ſilencing them that know; but in worldly matters, practis'd and cunning Shifters; in that only Art and Symony, great Clercs and Maiſters, bearing thir heads high, but thir thoughts abject and low. He taxes them alſo as gluttonous, incontinent, and daily Drunkards. And what ſhouldeſt thou expect from theſe, poor Laity, ſo he goes on, theſe beaſts, all belly? ſhall theſe amend thee, who are themſelves laborious in evil doings? ſhalt thou ſee with their Eyes, who ſee right forward nothing but gain? Leave them rather, as bids our Saviour, leſt ye fall both blind-fold into the ſame perdition. Are all thus? Perhaps not all, or not ſo groſly. But what avail'd it *Eli* to be himſelf blameleſs, while he conniv'd at others that were abominable? who of them hath bin envi'd for his better life? who of them hath hated to conſort with theſe, or withſtood thir entering the Miniſtry, or endeavour'd zealouſly thir caſting out? Yet ſome of theſe perhaps by others are legended for great Saints. This was the State of Government, this of Religion among the *Britans*, in that long calm of Peace, which the fight at *Badon* Hill had brought forth. Wherby it came to paſs, that ſo fair a Victory came to nothing. Towns and Cities were not reinhabited, but lay ruin'd

ruin'd and waſte; nor was it long e're domeſtick Warr breaking out, waſted them more. For *Britain*, as at other times, had then alſo
Primord. p. 444. ſeveral Kings. Five of whom *Gildas* living then in *Armorica*, at a ſafe diſtance, boldly reproves by name; Firſt *Conſtantine* (fabl'd the Son of *Cador*, Duke of *Cornwall*, *Artur*'s half Brother by the Mothers ſide) who then Reign'd in *Cornwall* and *Devon*, a Tyrannical and bloody King, polluted alſo with many Adulteries: He got into his Power, two young Princes of the Blood Royal, uncertain whether before him in Right, or otherwiſe ſuſpected: And after Solemn Oath giv'n of thir ſafety, the year that *Gildas* wrote, ſlew them with thir two Governours in the Church, and in thir Mothers Armes, through the Abbots Coap, which he had thrown over them, thinking by the Reverence of his Veſture to have withheld the murderer. Theſe are commonly ſuppos'd to be the Sons of *Mordred*, *Artur*'s Nefew, ſaid to have revolted from his Uncle, giv'n him in a Battel his deaths wound, and by him after to have bin ſlain. Which things were they true, would much diminiſh the blame of cruelty in *Conſtantine*, revenging *Artur* on the Sons of ſo falſe a *Mordred*. In another part, but not expreſs'd where, *Aurelius Conanus* was King: him he charges alſo with Adulteries, and Parricide; Cruelties worſe than the former; to be a hater of his Countries Peace, thirſting after Civil War and Prey. His condition it ſeems was not very proſperous; for *Gildas* wiſhes him, being

ing now left alone, like a Tree withering in the midſt of a barren field, to remember the vanity, and arrogance of his Father, and elder Brethren, who came all to untimely death in thir youth. The third reigning in *Demetia*, or *South Wales*, was *Vortipor*, the Son of a good Father; he was when *Gildas* wrote, grown old, not in years only, but in Adulteries, and in governing full of falſhood, and cruel Actions. In his latter daies, putting away his Wife, who dy'd in divorce, he became, if we miſtake not *Gildas*, inceſtuous with his Daughter. The fourth was *Cuneglas*, imbru'd in Civil Warr; he alſo had divorc'd his Wife, and taken her Siſter, who had vow'd Widdowhood: he was a great Enemy to the Clergy, high-minded, and truſting to his wealth. The laſt but greateſt of all in Power, was *Maglocune*, and greateſt alſo in wickedneſs; he had driv'n out or ſlain many other Kings, or Tyrants; and was called the *Iſland Dragon*, perhaps having his ſeat in *Angleſey*; a profuſe giver, a great Warrior, and of a goodly ſtature. While he was yet young, he overthrew his Uncle, though in the head of a compleat Army, and took from him the Kingdom: then touch't with remorſe of his doings, not without deliberation took upon him the profeſſion of a Monk; but ſoon forſook his Vow, and his Wife alſo, which for that Vow he had left, making Love to the Wife of his Brothers Son then living. Who not refuſing the offer, if ſhe were not rather the firſt that entic'd, found means both to diſpatch her own

own Husband, and the former Wife of *Maglocune*, to make her marriage with him the more unqueſtionable. Neither did he this for want of better inſtructions, having had the learnedeſt and wiſeſt man reputed of all *Britan*, the inſtituter of his youth. Thus much, the utmoſt that can be learnt by truer ſtory, of what paſt among the *Britans* from the time of thir uſeleſs Victory at *Badon*, to the time that *Gildas* wrote, that is to ſay, as may be gueſs't, from 527 to 571, is here ſet down all together; not to be reduc't under any certainty of years. But now the *Saxons*, who for the moſt part all this while had bin ſtill, unleſs among themſelves, began afreſh to aſſault them, and e're long to drive them out of all which they yet maintain'd on this ſide *Wales*.

571. *Camden. Ann. omn.* For *Cuthulf* the Brother of *Keaulin*, by a Victory obtain'd at *Bedanford*, now *Bedford*, took from them four good Towns, *Liganburgh*, *Eglesburh*, *Beſington*, now *Benſon* in *Oxfordſhire*, and *Igneſham*; but outliv'd not many months his good ſucceſs. And after ſix years

577. more, *Keaulin*, and *Cuthwin* his Son, gave them a great overthrow at *Deorrham* in *Gloſterſhire*, ſlew three of thir Kings, *Comail*, *Condidan*, and *Farinmaile*, and took three of thir Cheif Cities; *Gloceſter*, *Cirenceſter*, and *Badenceſter*.

584. The *Britans* notwithſtanding, after ſome ſpace of time, judging to have out-grown thir loſſes, gather to a head, and encounter *Keaulin* with *Cutha* his Son, at *Fethanleage*; whom valiantly fighting, they ſlew among the thickeſt, and as is ſaid, forc'd the *Saxons* to retire.

retire. But *Keaulin* reinforcing the fight, put them to a main rout, and following his advantage, took many Towns, and return'd laden with rich booty. *Huntingd.*

The last of those *Saxons* who rais'd thir own acheivments to a Monarchy, was *Crida*, much about this time, first founder of the *Mercian* Kingdom, drawing also his Pedigree from *Woden*. Of whom all to write the several Genealogies, though it might be done without long search, were, in my opinion, to encumber the story with a sort of barbarous names, to little purpose. This may suffice, that of *Wodens* three Sons, from the Eldest issu'd *Hengist*, and his succession; from the second, the Kings of *Mercia*; from the third, all that Reign'd in *West-Saxon*, and most of the *Northumbers*, of whom *Alla* was one, the first King of *Deira*; which, after his death, the Race of *Ida* seis'd, and made it one Kingdome with *Bernicia*, usurping on the Childhood of *Edwin*, *Alla*'s Son, whom *Ethelric* the Son of *Ida* expell'd. Notwithstanding others write of him; that from a poor life, and beyond hope in his old Age, coming to the Crown, he could hardly by the access of a Kingdom, have overcome his former obscurity, had not the fame of his Son preserv'd him. Once more the *Britans*, e're they quitted all on this side the Mountains, forgot not to shew some manhood; for meeting *Keaulin* at *Wodens Beorth*, that is to say, *Wodens* Mount in *Wiltshire*, whether it were by their own Forces, or assisted by the *Angles*, whose hatred *Keaulin* had incurr'd, they ruin'd his whole Army,

The Kingdome of *Mercia*. *Huntingd. Mat. West.*

Malms. L. 1. c. 3.

Floren. ad ann. 559.

588.

Ann. cam. 592. *Florent.*

Bed. L. 2. c. 3.

Malmsb. *Florent.* *Sax. An.*

Army, and chas'd him out of his Kingdom, from whence flying, he dy'd the next year in poverty, who a little before was the most Potent and indeed Sole King of all the *Saxons* on this side *Humber*. But who was Chief among the *Britans* in this Exploit, had bin worth remembring, whether it were *Magloeune*, of whose prowess hath bin spok'n, or *Teudric* King of *Glamorgan*, whom the Regest of *Landaff* recounts to have bin alwaies victorious in fight; to have Reign'd about this time, and at length to have exchanged his Crown for a Hermitage; till in the aid of his Son *Mouric*, whom the *Saxons* had reduc'd to extremes, taking Arms again, he defeated them at *Tinterne* by the River *Wye*; but himself receav'd a mortal wound. The same year with *Keaulin*, whom *Keola* the Son
593. of *Cutbulf*, *Keaulins* Brother succeeded, *Crida* also the *Mercian* King deceas'd, in whose room *Wibba* succeeded; and in *Northumberland*, *Ethelfred*, in the room of *Ethelric*; Reigning twenty four years. This omitting Fables, we have the view of what with reason can be rely'd on for truth, don in *Britan*, since the *Romans* forsook it. Wherein we have heard the many Miseries and Desolations, brought by Divine Hand on a perverse Nation; driv'n, when nothing else would reform them, out of a fair Country, into a Mountanous and Barren Corner, by Strangers and Pagans. So much more tolerable in the Eye of Heav'n is Infidelity profes'd,

fess't, than Christian Faith and Religion dishonoured by unchristian works. Yet they also at length renounc'd thir Heathenism; which how it came to pass, will be the matter next related.

The End of the Third Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK IV.

THE *Saxons* grown up now to seven Absolute Kingdoms, and the latest of them establish'd by succession, finding thir Power arrive well nigh at the utmost of what was to be gain'd upon the *Britans*, and as little fearing to be displanted by them, had time now to survey at leasure one anothers greatness. Which quickly bred among them, either envy, or mutual jealousies; till the West Kingdom at length grown over Powerful, put an end to all the rest. Mean while, above others, *Ethelbert* of *Kent*, who by this time had well rip'nd his young ambition, with more ability of years and experience in War, what before he attempted to his loss, now successfully attains; and

Bed. Malm.

and by degrees brought all the other Monarchies between *Kent* and *Humber*, to be at his devotion. To which design the Kingdom of *West-Saxons*, being the firmest of them all, at that time sore shak'n by thir over-throw at *Wodens-beorth*, and the death of *Keaulin*, gave him no doubt a main advantage; the rest yeilded not subjection, but as he earn'd it by continual Victories. And to win him the more regard abroad, he marries *Bertha* the *French* Kings Daughter, though a Christian, and with this condition, to have the free exercise of her Faith, under the care and instruction of *Letardus* a Bishop, sent by her Parents along with her; the King notwithstanding and his People retaining thir own Religion. *Beda* out of *Gildas* laies it sadly to the *Britans* charge, that they never would voutsafe their *Saxon* Neighbours the means of Conversion: but how far to blame they were, and what hope there was of converting in the midst of so much hostility, at least falshood from thir first arrival, is not now easie to determin. Howbeit not long after, they had the Christian Faith preach't to them by a Nation more remote, and (as report went, accounted old in *Beda*'s time) upon this occasion. The *Northumbrians* had a Custom at that time, and many hundred years after not aboliss'd, to sell thir Children for a small value into any forein Land. Of which number, two comly Youths were brought to *Rome*, whose fair and honest countenances invited *Gregory* Arch-Deacon of that City, among others that beheld

Bed. L. 1. c. 25.

Bed. L. 1. c. 22.

Bed. L. 2. c. 1.

Malmsb. L. 1. c. 3.

them, pittying their condition, to demand whence they were; it was answer'd by some who stood by, that they were *Angli* of the Province *Deira*, subjects to *Alla* King of *Northumberland*, and by Religion Pagans. Which last *Gregory* deploring fram'd on a sudden this allusion to the three names he heard; that the *Angli* so like to Angels should be snatch'd *de ira*, that is, from the wrath of God, to sing *Hallelujah*: and forthwith obtaining licence of *Benedict* the Pope, had come and preach't heer among them, had not the *Roman* People, whose love endur'd not the absence of so vigilant a Pastor over them, recall'd him then on his journey, though but defer'd his pious intention. For awhile after, succeeding in the
596. Papal Seat, and now in his fourth year, admonisht, saith *Beda*, by divine instinct, he sent *Augustine* whom he had design'd for Bishop of the *English* Nation, and other zealous Monks with him, to preach to them the Gospel. Who being now on their way, discouraged by some reports of their own carnal fear, sent back *Austin*, in the name of all, to beseech *Gregory* they might return home, and not be sent a journey so full of hazard, to a fierce and infidel Nation, whose Tongue they understood not. *Gregory* with Pious and Apostolic perswasions exhorts them not to shrink back from so good a work, but cheerfully to go on in the strength of Divine Assistance. The Letter it self yet extant among our Writers of Ecclesiastic Story, I omit heer, as not professing to relate of those Matters more than what mixs

aptly

aptly with Civil Affairs. The Abbot *Austin*, for so he was Ordain'd over the rest, reincourag'd by the Exhortations of *Gregory*, and his Fellows by the Letter which he brought them, came safe to the Ile of *Tanet*, in number about forty, besides som of the *French* Nation whom they took along as Interpreters. *Ethelbert* the King, to whom *Austin* at his landing had sent a-new and wondrous Message, that he came from *Rome* to proffer Heav'n and Eternal Happiness in the knowledge of another God than this *Saxons* knew, appoints them to remain where they landed, and necessaries to be provided them, consulting in the mean time what was to be done. And after certain days coming into the Iland, chose a place to meet them under the open Sky, possest with an old perswasion, that all Spells, if they should use any to deceive him, if it were not within doors, would be unavailable. They on the other side, came to his presence, advancing for thir Standard, a silver Cross, and the painted Image of our Saviour, came slowly forward singing thir Solemn Letanies: which wrought in *Ethelbert* more suspicion perhaps that they us'd enchantments; till sitting down as the King will'd them, they there preach'd to him, and all in that Assembly, the tidings of Salvation. Whom having heard attentively, the King thus answer'd. Fair indeed and ample are the promises which ye bring, and such things as have the appearence in them of much good; yet such as being new and uncertain, I cannot lightly assent to, quitting the Religion which 597.

from my Ancestors, with all the *English* Nation, so many years I have retain'd. Nevertheless because ye are strangers, and have endured so long a journey, to impart us the knowledge of things, which I perswade me you believe to be the truest and the best, ye may be sure we shall not recompence you with any molestation, but shall provide rather how we may friendliest entertain ye; nor do we forbid whom ye can by preaching gain to your belief. And accordingly thir residence he allotted them in *Doroverne* or *Canterbury*, his chief City, and made provision for thir maintenance, with free leave to preach their Doctrine where they pleased. By which, (and by the example of thir holy life, spent in prayer, fasting, and continual labour in the conversion of Souls, they won many; on whose bounty and the Kings, receiving only what was necessary, they subsisted. There stood without the City, on the East-side, an ancient Church built in honour of St. *Martin*, while yet the *Romans* remain'd heer: in which *Bertha* the Queen went out usually to pray. Heer they also began first to preach, baptize, and openly to exercise Divine Worship. But when the
598. King himself, convinc't by thir good Life and Miracles, became Christian, and was Baptized, which came to pass in the very first year of thir arrival, then Multitudes daily, conforming to thir Prince, thought it honour to be reckn'd among those of his Faith. To
Bed. L. 2. c. 5. whom *Ethelbert* indeed principally shewed his favour, but compell'd none. For so he had

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bin taught by them who were both the Instructors and the Authors of his Faith, that Christian Religion ought to be voluntary, not compell'd. About this time *Kelwulf* the Son of *Cutha Keaulins* Brother reign'd over the *West-Saxons*, after his Brother *Keola* or *Kelric*, and had continual War either with *English*, *Welch*, *Picts*, or *Scots*. But *Austin*, whom with his Fellows, *Ethelbert* now had endow'd with a better place for thir abode in the City, and other possessions necessary to livelihood, crossing into *France*, was by the Arch-bishop of *Arles*, at the appointment of Pope *Gregory*, Ordain'd Arch-bishop of the *English*: and returning, sent to *Rome Laurence* and *Peter*, two of his associates, to acquaint the Pope of his good success in *England*, and to be resolv'd of certain Theological, or rather Levitical questions: with answers to which, not proper in this place, *Gregory* sends also to the great work of converting, that went on so happily, a supply of labourers, *Mellitus*, *Justus*, *Paulinus*, *Rufinian*, and many others; who what they were, may be guess't by the stuff which they brought with them, vessels and vestments for the Altar, Coaps, Reliques, and for the Arch-bishop *Austin* a Pall to say Mass in: to such a rank superstition that Age was grown, though some of them yet retaining an emulation of Apostolic Zeal: Lastly, to *Ethelbert* they brought a Letter with many Presents. *Austin* thus exalted to Archiepiscopal Authority, recover'd from the ruins and other prophane uses, a Christian Church in *Canterbury*, built

Sax. An. Malmsb. 601. *Bed. L. 1. c. 27.*

built of old by the *Romans*; which he dedicated by the Name of *Christs Church*, and joyning to it built a seat for himself and his successors; a Monastery also neer the City Eastward, where *Ethelbert* at his motion built St. *Peters*, and enrich't it with great Endowments, to be a place of burial for the Archbishops and Kings of *Kent*: so quickly they step't up into fellowship of Pomp with Kings.

Bed. L. 2. c. 34. While thus *Ethelbert* and his People had their minds intent, *Ethelfrid* the *Northumbrian* King, was not less busied in far different Affairs: for being altogether warlike, and covetous of Fame, he more wasted the *Britans* than any *Saxon* King before him; winning from them large Territories, which either he made tributary, or planted with his own Subjects.

603. Whence *Edan* King of those *Scots* that dwelt in *Britan*, jealous of his successes, came against him with a mighty Army, to a place call'd *Degsastan*; but in the fight losing most of his men, himself with a few escap'd: only *Theobald* the Kings Brother, and the whole wing which he commanded, unfortunately cut off, made the Victory to *Ethelfrid* less intire. Yet from that time no King of *Scots* in hostile manner durst pass into *Britan* for a hundred and more years after: and what some years before, *Kelwulf* the *West-Saxon* is annal'd to have don against the *Scots* and *Picts*, passing through the Land of *Ethelfrid* a King so Potent, unless in his Aid and Alliance, is not likely. *Buchanan* writes as if *Ethelfrid*, assisted by *Keaulin*, whom he mis-titles King of

East-

East-Saxons, had before this time a battel with *Aidan*, wherein *Cutha Keaulin's* Son was slain. But *Cuthà*, as is above written from better Authority, was slain in fight against the *Welch* twenty years before. The number of Christians began now to increase so fast, that *Augustine* Ordaining Bishops under him, two of his Assistants *Mellitus* and *Justus*, sent them out both to the work of thir Ministry. And *Mellitus* by preaching converted the *East-Saxons*, over whom *Sebert* the Son of *Sleda*, by permission of *Ethelbert*, being born of his Sister *Ricula*, then reign'd. Whose Conversion *Ethelbert* to gratulate, built them the great Church of St. *Paul* in *London* to be thir Bishops Cathedral; as *Justus* also had his built at *Rochester*, and both gifted by the same King with fair Possessions. Hitherto *Austin* laboured well among Infidels, but not with like commendation soon after among Christians. For by means of *Ethelbert* summoning the *Britan* Bishops to a place on the edge of *Worcestershire*, call'd from that time *Augustines* Oak, he requires them to conform with him in the same day of Celebrating *Easter*, and many other points wherein they differ'd from the Rites of *Rome*: which when they refus'd to do, not prevailing by dispute, he appeals to a Miracle, restoring to sight a blind man whom the *Britans* could not cure. At this something mov'd, though not minded to recede from thir own Opinions, without further consultation, they request a second meeting: to which came seven *Britan* Bishops, with

604. *Bed. L. 2. c. 3.*

many other learned men, especially from the famous Monastry of *Bangor*, in which were said to be so many Monks, living all by their own labour, that being divided under seven Rectors, none had fewer than three hundred. One man there was who staid behind, a Hermit by the life he led, who by his wisdom effected more than all the rest who went: being demanded, for they held him as an Oracle, how they might know *Austin* to be a man from God, that they might follow him, he answer'd, that if they found him meek and humble, they should be taught by him, for it was likeliest to be the yoke of Christ, both what he bore himself, and would have them bear; but if he bore himself proudly, that they should not regard him, for he was then certainly not of God. They took his advice, and hasted to the place of meeting. Whom *Austin*, being already there before them, neither arose to meet, nor receav'd in any brotherly sort, but sat all the while pontifically in his Chair. Whereat the *Britans*, as they were counsel'd by the Holy Man, neglected him, and neither harkned to his proposals of Conformity, nor would acknowledge him for an Arch-Bishop: And in name of the rest, *Dinothus* then Abbot of *Bangor*, is said, thus sagely to have answer'd him. As to the subjection which you require, be thus perswaded of us, that in the Bond of Love and Charity we are all Subjects and Servants to the Church of God, yea to the Pope of *Rome*, and every good Christian to help them forward, both by word

Spelman. Concil. pag. 108.

word and deed, to be the Childern of God: other obedience than this we know not to be due to him whom you term the Pope; and this obedience we are ready to give both to him and to every Christian continually. Besides, we are govern'd under God by the Bishop of *Caerleon*, who is to oversee us in spiritual matters. To which *Austin* thus presaging, som say menacing, replies, Since ye refuse to accept of Peace with your brethren, ye shall have Warr from your enemies; and since ye will not with us preach the Word of Life, to whom ye ought, from thir hands ye shall receive death. This, though Writers agree not whether *Austin* spake it as his prophecy, or as his plot against the *Britans*, fell out accordingly. For many years were not past, when *Ethelfrid*, whether of his own accord, or at the request of *Ethelbert*, incens't by *Austin*, with a powerful Host came to *Westchester*, then *Caer-legion*. Where being met by the *British* Forces, and both sides in readiness to give the onset, he discerns a company of men, not habited for Warr, standing together in a place of som safety; and by them a Squadron arm'd. Whom having learnt upon some enquiry to be Priests and Monks, assembl'd thither after three dayes fasting to pray for the good success of thir Forces against him, therefore they first, saith he, shall feel our Swords; for they who pray against us, fight heaviest against us by thir prayers, and are our dangerousest enemies. And with that turns his first charge upon the Monks: *Broomail* the Captain

Sax. An. Huntingd. 609.

Captain set to guard them, quickly turns his back, and leaves above 1200 Monks to a sudden massacher, whereof scarce fifty scap'd, but not so easie work found *Ethelfrid* against another part of *Britans* that stood in arms, whom though at last he overthrew, yet with slaughter nigh as great to his own souldiers. To excuse *Austin* of this bloodshed, lest some might think it his revengeful policy, *Beda* writes that he was dead long before, although if the time of his sitting Arch-bishop be right computed sixteen years, he must survive this action. Other just Ground of charging him with this imputation appears not, save what evidently we have from *Geffry Monmouth*, whose weight we know. The same year *Kelwulf* made War on the *South-Saxons*, bloody, saith *Huntingdon*, to both sides, but most to them of the *South*: and four years after dying left the Government of *West-Saxons* to *Kinglis* and *Cuichelm* the Sons of his Brother *Keoh*. Others, as *Florent* of *Worster*, and *Mathew* of *Westminster*, will have *Cuichelm* Son of *Kinglis*, but admitted to reign with his Father, in whose third year they are recorded with joynt Forces or conduct to have fought against the *Britans* in *Beandune*, now *Bindon* in *Dorsetshire*, and to have slain of them above two thousand. More memorable was the second year following, by the death of *Ethelbert* the first Christian King of *Saxons*, and no less a favourer of all Civility in that rude Age. He gave Laws and Statutes after the example of *Roman* Emperors, written with the advice of his sagest Counsellors,

Malmsb. gest. Pont. l. 1.

Sax. An. 611.

Sax. an. Malmsb. 614.

Camden. 616.

Sax. an.

Counſellors, but in the *Engliſh* Tongue, and obſerv'd long after. Wherein his ſpecial care was to puniſh thoſe who had ſtoln ought from Church or Churchman, thereby ſhewing how gratefully he receav'd at thir hands the Chriſtian Faith. Which, he no ſooner dead, but his Son *Eadbald* took the courſe as faſt to extinguiſh; not only falling back to Heatheniſm, but that which Heatheniſm was wont to abhor, marrying his Fathers ſecond Wife. Then ſoon was perceav'd what multitudes for fear or countenance of the King had profeſs't Chriſtianity, returning now as eagerly to thir old Religion. Nor ſtaid the Apoſtaſie within one Province, but quickly ſpread over to the *Eaſt-Saxons*; occaſion'd there likewiſe, or ſet forward by the death of thir Chriſtian King *Sebert*: whoſe three Sons, of whom two are nam'd, *Sexted* and *Seward*, neither in his life time would be brought to baptiſm, and after his deceaſe re-eſtabliſh'd the free exerciſe of Idolatry; nor ſo content, they ſet themſelves in deſpight to do ſome op'n profanation againſt the other Sacrament. Coming therfore into the Church, where *Mellitus* the Biſhop was miniſtring, they requir'd him in abuſe and ſcorn to deliver to them unbaptiz'd the Conſecrated Bread; and him refuſing, drove diſgracefully out of thir dominion. Who croſs'd forthwith into *Kent*, where things were in the ſame plight, and thence into *France*, with *Juſtus* Biſhop of *Rocheſter*. But Divine vengeance deferr'd not long the puniſhment of men ſo impious; for *Eadbald*, vext with an evil *Malmſb.*

Spirit,

Spirit, fell oft'n into foul fits of diſtraction; and the Sons of *Sebert*, in a fight againſt the *Weſt-Saxons* periſh'd, with thir whole Army. But *Eadbald*, within the year, by an extraordinary means became penitent. For when *Laurence* the Arch-Biſhop and Succeſſor of *Auſtin* was preparing to ſhip for *France*, after *Juſtus* and *Mellitus*, the Story goes, if it be worth beleeving, that Saint *Peter*, in whoſe Church he ſpent the night before in watching and praying, appear'd to him, and to make the Viſion more ſenſible, gave him many ſtripes for offering to deſert his flock; at ſight wherof the King (to whom next morning he ſhewed the marks of what he had ſuffer'd, by whom and for what cauſe) relenting and in great fear diſſolv'd his inceſtuous marriage, and appli'd himſelf to the Chriſtian Faith more ſincerely than before, with all his people. But the *Londoners*, addicted ſtill to Paganiſm, would not be perſwaded to receave again *Mellitus* thir Biſhop, and to compell them was not in his
617. power. Thus much through all the South was troubl'd in Religion, as much were the North parts diſquieted through Ambition. For *Ethelfrid* of *Bernicia*, as was touch't before, having thrown *Edwin* out of *Deira*, and joyn'd that Kingdome to his own, not content to have bereav'd him of his right, whoſe known vertues and high parts gave cauſe of ſuſpicion to his Enemies, ſends Meſſengers to demand him of *Redwald* King of *Eaſt-Angles*; under whoſe protection, after many years wandring obſcurely through all the Iland, he had plac'd his

his safety. *Redwald*, though having promis'd all defence to *Edwin* as to his suppliant, yet tempted with continual and large offers of gold, and not contemning the puissance of *Ethelfrid*, yeilded at length, either to dispatch him, or to give him into thir hands: but earnestly exhorted by his Wife, not to betray the Faith and inviolable Law of Hospitality and refuge giv'n, preferrs his first promise as the more Religious; nor only refuses to deliver him; but since War was therupon denounc't, determins to be beforehand with the danger; and with a sudden Army rais'd, surprises *Ethelfrid*, little dreaming an Invasion, and in a fight neer to the East-side of the River *Idle*, on the *Mercian* border, now *Nottinghamshire*, slays him, dissipating easily those few Forces which he had got to march out over-hastily with him; who yet as a testimony of his Fortune, not his Valour to be blam'd, slew first with his own hands *Reiner* the King's Son. His two Sons *Oswald*, and *Oswi*, by *Acca*, *Edwin*'s Sister, escap'd into *Scotland*. By this Victory, *Redwald* became so far Superiour to the other *Saxon* Kings, that *Beda* reck'ns him the next after *Ella* and *Ethelbert*; who besides this Conquest of the North, had likewise all on the hither-side *Humber* at his obedience. He had formerly in *Kent* receav'd Baptism, but coming home, and perswaded by his Wife, who still it seems, was his Chief Counseller to good or bad alike, relaps'd into his old Religion; yet not willing to forgoe his new, thought it not the worst way, lest perhaps he might err in either,

Malmsb. L. 1. c. 3.

Camden.

Bed. L. 2. c. 15.

either, for more assurance to keep them both; and in the same Temple erected one Altar to Christ, another to his Idols. But *Edwin*, as with more deliberation he undertook, and with more sincerity retain'd the Christian profession, so also in power and extent of dominion far exceeded all before him; subduing all, saith *Beda*, *English* or *British*, even to the Hel, then call'd *Mevanian*, *Anglesey*, and *Man*; held in his Kingdom by *Redwald*, he sought in marriage *Edilburga*, whom others call *Tate*, the Daughter of *Ethelbert*. To whose Embassadors, *Eadbald* her Brother made answer, that to wed this Daughter to a Pagan, was not the Christian Law. *Edwin* repli'd, that to her Religion he would be no hindrance, which with her whole Houshold she might freely exercise. And moreover, that if examin'd it were found the better, he would imbrace it. These ingenuous offers, opning so
625. fair a way to the advancement of truth, are accepted, and *Paulinus* as a Spiritual Guardian lent a long with the Virgin. He being to the purpose made Bishop by *Justus*, omitted no occasion to plant the Gospel in those parts;
626. but with small success, till the next year, *Cuichelm*, at that time one of the two *West-Saxon* Kings, envious of the greatness which he saw *Edwin* growing up to, sent privily *Eumerus* a hir'd Sword-man to assassin him; who under pretence of doing a message from his Master, with a poison'd Weapon, stabs at *Edwin*, conferring with him in his House, by the River *Derwent* in *York-shire*, on an Easter-day; which

Lilla,

Lilla, one of the Kings Attendants, at the instant perceaving, with a loyalty that stood not then to deliberate, abandon'd his whole body to the blow; which notwithstanding made passage through to the King's Person, with a wound not to be slighted. The murderer encompass'd now with Swords, and desperate, fore-revenges his own fall with the death of another, whom his Poinard reach'd home. *Paulinus* omitting no opportunity to win the King from misbelief, obtain'd at length this promise from him; that if Christ, whom he so magnifi'd, would give him to recover of his wound, and Victory of his Enemies who had thus assaulted him, he would then become Christian, in pledge whereof he gave his young Daughter *Eanfled* to be bred up in Religion; who with twelve others of his Family, on the day of *Pentecost* was baptiz'd. And by that time well recover'd of his wound; to punish the Authors of so foul a fact, he went with an Army against the *West-Saxons*; whom having quell'd by War, and of such as had conspir'd against him, put some to death, others pardon'd, he return'd home victorious, and from that time worship'd no more his Idols, yet ventur'd not rashly into Baptism, but first took care to be instructed rightly, what he learnt, examining and still considering with himself and others, whom he held wisest; though *Boniface* the Pope, by large Letters of Exhortation, both to him and his Queen, was not wanting to quicken his belief. But while he still defer'd, and his deferring

ferring might seem now to have past the maturity of wisdom to a faulty lingring, *Paulinus* by Revelation, as was beleiv'd, coming to the knowledge of a secret, which befell him strangely in the time of his troubles, on a certain day went in boldly to him, and laying his right hand on the head of the King, ask'd him if he remembred what that sign meant; the King trembling, and in a maze rising up, straight fell at his Feet. Behold, saith *Paulinus*, raising him from the ground; God hath deliver'd you from your Enemies, and giv'n you the Kingdom, as you desir'd: perform now what long since you promis'd him, to receave his Doctrine which I now bring you, and the Faith, which if you accept, shall to your temporal felicity, add Eternal. The promis claim'd of him by *Paulinus*, how and wherefore made, though savouring much of Legend, is thus related. *Redwald*, as we heard before, dazl'd with the gold of *Ethelfrid*, or by his threatning over-aw'd, having promis'd to yeild up *Edwin*, one of his faithfull Companions, of which he had some few with him in the Court of *Redwald*, that never shrunk from his adversity, about the first hour of night comes in hast to his Chamber, and calling him forth for better secrecy, reveles to him his danger, offers him his aid to make escape; but that course not approv'd, as seeming dishonourable without more manifest cause to begin distrust towards one who had so long bin his only refuge, the friend departs. *Edwin* left alone without the Palace Gate, full of sadness

sadness and perplext thoughts, discerns about the dead of night, a man neither by countenance nor by habit to him known, approaching towards him. Who, after salutation, ask'd him why at this hour, when all others were at rest, he alone so sadly sat waking on a cold Stone? *Edwin* not a little misdoubting who he might be, ask'd him again, what his sitting within doors, or without, concern'd him to know? To whom he again, Think not that who thou art, or why sitting heer, or what danger hangs over thee, is to me unknown: But what would you promise to that man, who ever would befriend you out of all these troubles, and perswade *Redwald* to the like? All that I am able, answer'd *Edwin*. And he, What if the same man should promise to make you greater than any *English* King hath bin before you? I should not doubt, quoth *Edwin*, to be answerably grateful. And what if to all this he would inform you, said the other, in a way to happiness, beyond what any of your Ancestors hath known? would you hark'n to his Counsel? *Edwin* without stopping promis'd he would. And the other laying his right hand on *Edwin*'s head, When this sign, saith he, shall next befall thee, remember this time of night, and this discourse, to perform what thou hast promis'd; and with these words disappearing, left *Edwin* much reviv'd, but not less fill'd with wonder, who this unknown should be. When suddenly the Friend who had bin gon all this while to list'n further what was like to be decree'd of *Edwin*, comes back, and

joyfully bids him rise to his repose, for that the King's mind, though for a while drawn aside, was now fully resolv'd not only not to betray him, but to defend him against all Enemies, as he had promis'd. This was said to be the cause why *Edwin* admonish't by the Bishop of a sign which had befaln him so strangly, and as he thought so secretly, arose to him with that reverence and amazement, as to one sent from Heav'n, to claim that promise of him which he perceav'd well was due to a Divine Power that had assisted him in his troubles. To *Paulinus* therfore he makes answer, that the Christian Beleef he himself ought to promise, and intended to receave; but would conferr first with his Cheif Peers and Counsellers, that if they likewise could be won, all at once might be baptiz'd. They therfore being ask'd in Counsel what thir Opinion was concerning this New Doctrine, and well perceaving which way the King enclin'd, every one thereafter shap'd his reply. The Chief Priest speaking first, discover'd an old grudge he had against his Gods, for advancing others in the Kings Favour above him thir Chief Priest: another hiding his Court-compliance with a grave sentence, commended the choise of certain before uncertain, upon due examination; to like purpose answer'd all the rest of his Sages, none op'nly dissenting from what was likely to be the King's Creed: whereas the preaching of *Paulinus* could work no such effect upon them, toiling till that time without success. Whereupon *Edwin* renouncing

Heathenism,

Heathenism, became Christian: and the Pagan Priest, offering himself freely to demolish the Altars of his former Gods, made some amends for his teaching to adore them. With *Edwin*, his two Sons *Osfrid* and *Eanfrid*, born to him by *Quenburga*, Daughter, as saith *Beda*, of *Kearle* King of *Mercia*, in the time of his banishment, and with them most of the People, both Nobles and Commons, easily Converted, were Baptiz'd; he with his whole Family at *York*, In a Church hastily built up of Wood, the multitude most part in Rivers. *Northumberland* thus christ'ned, *Paulinus* crossing *Humber*, converted also the Province of *Lindsey*, and *Blecca* the Governour of *Lincoln*, with his Houshold and most of that City; wherein he built a Church of Stone, curiously wrought, but of small continuance; for the Roof in *Beda*'s time, uncertain whether by neglect or Enemies, was down; the Walls only standing. Mean while in *Mercia*, *Kearle* a Kinsman of *Wibba*, saith *Huntingdon*, not a Son, having long withheld the Kingdom from *Penda Wibba*'s Son, left it now at length to the fiftieth year of his Age: with whom *Kinegils* and *Cuichelm*, the *West-Saxon* Kings, two year after, having by that time it seems recover'd strength, since the Inrode made upon them by *Edwin*, fought at *Cirencester*, then made Truce. But *Edwin* seeking every way to propagate the Faith, which with so much deliberation he had receav'd, perswaded *Eorpwald* the Son of *Redwald*, King of *East-Angles*, to imbrace the same beleef; willingly or in

627.

620. *Sax. An.*

632.

Sax. An. aw, is not known, retaining under *Edwin* the name only of a King. But *Eorpwald* not long *Florent. Genealog.* ſurviv'd his Converſion, ſlain in fight by *Ar-bert* a Pagan: whereby the People having lightly follow'd the Religion of thir King, lightly fell back to thir old ſuperſtitions for above three years after: *Edwin* in the mean while, to his Faith adding Vertue, by the due adminiſtration of Juſtice, wrought ſuch peace over all his Territories, that from Sea to Sea Man or Woman might have travail'd in ſafety. His care alſo was of Fountains by the way ſide, to make them fitteſt for the uſe of Travellers. And not unmindful of Regal State, whether in War or Peace, he had a Royal Banner carried before him. But having Reign'd with much Honour ſeventeen years, he was at length by *Kedwalla*, or *Cadwallon*, King of the *Britans*, who with aid of the *Mercian Pinda*, had rebell'd againſt him, ſlain in a Battel with his Son *Oſfrid*, at a place call'd *Hethfeild*, and his whole Army over-
633. thrown or diſperſt in the year 633, and the 47th of his Age, in the Eye of man worthy a more peaceful end. His Head brought to *York*, was there buried in the Church by him begun. Sad was this overthrow, both to Church and State of the *Northumbrians*: for *Penda* being a Heathen, and the *Britiſh* King though in name a Chriſtian, yet in deeds more bloody than the Pagan, nothing was omitted of barbarous cruelty in the ſlaughter of Sex or Age; *Kedwalla* threatning to root out the whole Nation, though then newly Chriſtian-

For

for the *Britans*, and, as *Beda* saith, ever'n to his dayes, accounted *Saxon* Christianity no better than Paganism, and with them held as little Communion. From those Calamities no refuge being left but flight, *Paulinus* taking with him *Ethelburga* the Queen and her Children, aided by *Bassus*, one of *Edwin*'s Captains, made escape by Sea to *Eadbald* King of *Kent*; who receiving his Sister with all kindness, made *Paulinus* Bishop of *Rochester*, where he ended his dayes. After *Edwin*, the Kingdome of *Northumberland* became divided as before, each rightful Heir seising his part; in *Deira* *Osric*, the Son of *Elfric*, *Edwin*'s Uncle, by profession a Christian, and baptiz'd by *Paulinus*; in *Bernicia*, *Eanfrid*, the Son of *Ethelfrid*; who all the time of *Edwin*, with his Brother *Oswald*, and many of the young Nobility, liv'd in *Scotland* exil'd, and had him there taught and baptiz'd. No sooner had they got'n each a Kingdome, but both turn'd recreant, sliding back into thir old Religion; and both were the same year slain; *Osric* by a sudden eruption of *Kedwalla*, whom he in a strong Town had unadvisedly beseig'd; *Eanfrid* seeking Peace, and inconsiderately with a few Attendants doing himself. *Kedwalla* now rang'd at will through both those Provinces, using cruelly his Conquest; when *Oswald* the Brother of *Eanfrid* with a small but Christian Army, unexpectedly coming on, defeated and destroy'd both him and his huge Forces, which he boasted to be invincible, by a little River running into *Tine*, neer the antient *Roman* Wall then 634.

call'd *Denisburn*, the place afterwards *Heavenfield*, from the Cross reported miraculous for Cures, which *Oswald* there erected before the Battail, in token of his Faith against the great number of his Enemies. Obtaining the Kingdome, he took care to instruct again the People in Christianity. Sending therefore to the Scotish Elders, *Beda* so terms them, among whom he had receav'd Baptism, requested of them some faithful Teacher, who might again settle Religion in his Realm, which the late troubles had impair'd; they as readily hearkning to his request, send *Aidan* a Scotch Monk and Bishop, but of singular zeal and meekness, with others to assist him, whom at thir own desire he seated in *Lindisfarne*, as the Episcopal Seat, now *Holy Iland*: and being the Son of *Ethilfrid*, by the Sister of *Edwin*, as right Heir, others failing, easily reduc'd both Kingdoms of *Northumberland* as before into one; nor of *Edwin*'s Dominion lost any part, but inlarg'd it rather; over all the four *British* Nations, *Angles*, *Britans*, *Picts* and *Scots*, exercising Regal Authority. Of his Devotion, Humility, and Almes-deeds, much is spok'n; that he disdain'd not to be the interpreter of *Aidan*, preaching in *Scotch* or bad *English*, to his Nobles and Houshold Servants; and had the poor continually serv'd at his Gate, after the promiscuous manner of those times: his meaning might be upright, but the manner more antient of private or of Church contribution, is doubtless more Evangelical. About
635. *Sax. An.* this time, the *West-Saxons*, antiently call'd

Gewissi,

Gewiſſi, by the preaching of *Berinus*, a Biſhop, whom Pope *Honorius* had ſent, were converted to the Faith with *Kineglis* their King: him *Oſwald* receiv'd out of the Font, and his Daughter in marriage. The next year *Cuichelm* was baptiz'd in *Dorchester*, but liv'd not to the years end. The *East-Angles* alſo this year were reclaim'd to the Faith of Chriſt, which for ſom years paſt they had thrown off. But *Sigbert* the Brother of *Eorpwald* now ſucceeded in that Kingdom, prais'd for a moſt Chriſtian and Learned Man: who while his Brother yet Reign'd, living in *France* an exile, for ſome diſpleaſure conceav'd againſt him by *Redwald* his Father, learn'd there the Chriſtian Faith; and reigning ſoon after, in the ſame inſtructed his People, by the preaching of *Felix* a *Burgundian* Biſhop. In the year 640 *Eadbald* deceaſing, left to *Ercombert* his Son by *Emma* the *French* King's Daughter, the Kingdom of *Kent*; Recorded the firſt of *Engliſh* Kings, who commanded through his limits the deſtroying of Idols; laudably, if all Idols without exception; and the firſt to have eſtabliſht *Lent* among us, under ſtrict penalty, not worth remembring, but only to inform us, that no *Lent* was obſerv'd heer till his time by compulſion; eſpecially being noted by ſom to have fraudulently uſurp'd upon his Elder Brother *Ermenred*, whoſe right was precedent to the Crown. *Oſwald* having Reign'd eight years, worthy alſo as might ſeem of longer life, fell into the ſame fate with *Edwin*, and from the ſame hand, in a great Battel overcom and ſlain by

636.

640.

Mat. Weſt.

642.

Penda, at a place call'd *Maserfield*, now *Oswestre*, in *Shropshire*, miraculous, as faith *Camden.* after his Death. His Brother *Oswi* succeeded him; reigning, though in much trouble, twenty eight years; oppos'd either by *Penda*, or his own Son *Alfred*, or his Brothers Son *Ethelwald*. Next year *Kinegils* the *West-Saxon* dying, left his Son *Kenwalk* in his stead, though as yet unconverted. About this time *Sigebert*, King of *East-Angles*, having learnt in *Britain* e're his coming to Reign, the manner of the Schools, with the assistance of som Teachers out of *Kent*, instituted a School here after the same Discipline, thought to be the University of *Cambridge* then first Founded: and at length weary of his Kingly Office, betook him to a Monastical Life; commending the care of Government to his Kinsman *Egric*, who had sustain'd with him part of that burden before. It happen'd som years after, that *Penda* made Warr on the *East-Angles*: they expecting a sharp encounter, besought *Sigebert*, whom they esteem'd an expert Leader, with his presence to confirm the Souldiery: and him refusing carried by force out of the Monastery into the Camp; where acting the Monk rather than the Captain, with a single wand in his hand, he was slain with *Egric*, and his whole Army put to flight. *Anna* of the Royal Stock, as next in right, succeeded; and hath the praise of a vertuous and most Christian Prince. But *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon* having married the Sister of *Penda*, and divorc't her, was by him with more appearance of a just

Bed. L. 3. c. 14. 643. Sax. An.

645. Sax. An.

cause

cause vanquisht in fight, and depriv'd of his Crown: whence retiring to *Anna* King of the *East-Angles*, after three years abode in his Court, he there became Christian, and afterwards regain'd his Kingdom. *Oswi* in the former years of his Reign, had shared with him, *Oswin* Nephew of *Edwin*, who rul'd in *Deira* seven years, commended much for his zeal in Religion, and for comliness of person, with other Princely qualities, belov'd of all. Notwithstanding which, dissentions growing between them, it came to Arms. *Oswin* seeing himself much exceeded in numbers, thought it more prudence, dismissing his Army, to reserve himself for some better occasion. But committing his person with one faithful attendant to the Loyalty of *Humpald* an Earl, his imagin'd Friend, he was by him treacherously discover'd, and by command of *Oswi* slain. After whom within twely days, and for grief of him whose death he foretold, dy'd Bishop *Aidan*, famous for his Charity, Meekness, and labour in the Gospel. The fact of *Oswi* was detestable to all; which therefore to expiate, a Monastery was built in the place where it was don, and Prayers there daily offer'd up for the Souls of both Kings, the slain and the slayer. *Kenwalk* by this time reinstall'd in his Kingdom, kept it long, but with various Fortune; for *Beda* relates him oft-times afflicted by his Enemies with great losses: and in 652 by the Annals, fought a Battel (Civil War *Ethelwerd* calls it) at *Bradanford* by the River *Afene*; against whom, and for what cause,

664.

651. *Bede.*

Bed. L. 3. c. 7.

652.

cause, or who had the Victory, they write not. *Camden* names the place *Bradford* in *Wiltshire* by the *River Avon*, and *Cuthred* his neer Kinsman, against whom he fought, but cites no Authority; certain it is, that *Kenwalk* four years before had giv'n large possessions to his Nephew *Cuthred*, the more unlikely therefore now to have rebell'd. The next year *Penda*, 653. whom his Father *Penda*, though a Heathen, had for his Princely Vertues made Prince of *Middle-Angles*, belonging to the *Mercians*, was with that people converted to the Faith. For coming to *Oswi* with request to have in marriage *Alfleda* his Daughter, he was deni'd her but on condition, that he with all his People should receave Christianity. Hearing therefore not unwillingly what was preach'd to him of Resurrection and Eternal Life, much perswaded also by *Alfrid* the King's Son, who had his Sister *Kyneburg* to Wife, he easily assented, for the truths sake only as he profess'd, whether he obtain'd the Virgin or no, and was baptiz'd with all his followers. Returning, he took with him four Presbyters to teach the people of his Province; who by their daily preaching won many. Neither did *Penda*, though himself no Believer, prohibit any in his Kingdom to hear or beleeve the Gospel, but rather hated and despis'd those, who professing to believe, attested not thir Faith by good works; condemning them for miserable and justly to be despis'd, who obey not that God in whom they choose to beleeve. How well might *Penda* this Heathen rise up in judgment

ment against many pretending Christians, both of his own and these daies: yet being a man bred up to War (as no less were others then reigning, and oft-times one against another, though both Christians) he warr'd on *Anna*, King of the *East-Angles*, perhaps without cause, for *Anna* was esteem'd a just man, and at length slew him. About this time the *East-Saxons*, who as above hath bin said, had expell'd their Bishop *Mellitus*, and renounc'd the Faith, were by the means of *Oswi* thus reconverted. *Sigebert* surnam'd the *Small*, being the Son of *Seward*, without other memory of his Reign, left his Son King of that Province after him *Sigebert* the Second, who coming oft'n to visit *Oswi* his great friend, was by him at several times fervently dissuaded from Idolatry, and convinc't at length to forsake it, was there baptiz'd; on his return home taking with him *Cedda* a laborious Preacher, afterwards made Bishop; by whose teaching with some help of others, the people were again recover'd from misbelief. But *Sigebert* some years after, though standing fast in Religion, was by the Conspiracy of two Brethren in place neer about him, wickedly murder'd; who being ask'd what mov'd them to do a deed so hainous, gave no other than this barbarous answer; that they were angry with him for being so gentle to his Enemies, as to forgive them thir injuries whenever they besought him. Yet his death seems to have happen'd not without some cause by him giv'n of Divine displeasure. For one of those Earls 654. Sax. An.

who

who slew him, living in unlawful Wedlock, and therfore excommunicated so severely by the Bishop, that no man might presume to enter into his House, much less to sit at meat with him; the King not regarding this Church censure, went to feast with him at his invitation. Whom the Bishop meeting in his return, though penitent for what he had don, and fain at his feet, touch'd with the rod in his hand, and angerly thus foretold: Because thou hast neglected to abstain from the House of that Excommunicate, in that House thou shalt die: and so it fell out, perhaps from that Prediction, God bearing witness to his Minister in the power of Church Discipline, spiritually executed, not juridically on the contemner therof. This year 655 prov'd fortunate to *Oswi*, and fatal to *Penda*, for *Oswi* by the continual Inrodes of *Penda*, having long endur'd much devastation, to the endangering once by assault and fire *Bebbanburg*, his strongest City, now *Bamborrow* Castle, unable to resist him, with many rich Presents offer'd to buy his Peace. Which not accepted by the Pagan, who intended nothing but destruction to that King, though more than once in affinity with him, turning guifts into vows, he implores Divine Assistance, devoting, if he were deliver'd from his Enemy, a Child of one year old, his Daughter to be a Nun, and twelv portions of land whereon to build Monasteries. His vows, as may be thought, found better success than his proffer'd guifts; for heerupon with his Son *Alfrid*, gathering a small power, he

655.

Bed. L. 3. c. 16. Camd.

he encounter'd and discomfited the *Mercians*, thirty times exceeding his in number, and led on by expert Captains: at a place call'd *Loydes*, now *Leeds* in *Yorkshire*. Besides this *Ethelwald*, the Son of *Oswald*, who rul'd in *Deira*, took part with the *Mercians*, but in the fight withdrew his Forces, and in a safe place expected the event: with which unseasonable retreat, the *Mercians* perhaps terrifi'd and misdoubting more danger, fled; thir Commanders, with *Penda* himself, most being slain, among whom *Edelhere* the Brother of *Anna*, who rul'd after him the *East-Angles*, and was the Author of this War; many more flying were drown'd in the River, which *Beda* calls *Winwed*, then swoln above his Banks. The death of *Penda*, who had bin the death of so many good Kings, made general rejoicing, as the Song witness'd. At the River *Winwed*, *Anna* was aveng'd. To *Edelhere* succeeded *Ethelwald* his Brother, in the *East-Angles*; to *Sigebert* in the *East-Saxons*, *Suidhelm* the Son of *Sexbald*, saith *Bede*, the Brother of *Sigebert*, saith *Malmsbury*; he was baptiz'd by *Kedda*, then residing in the *East-Angles*, and by *Ethelwald* the King, receav'd out of the Font. But *Oswi* in the strength of his late Victory, within three years after subdu'd all *Mercia*, and of the *Pictish* Nation greatest part, at which time he gave to *Peada* his Son in Law the Kingdom of *South-Mercia*, divided from the Northern by *Trent*. But *Peada* the Spring following, as was said, by the Treason of his Wife the Daughter of *Oswi*, married by him for a special

Camden.

Mat. West.

Bed. L. 3. c. 22.

658. *Sax. An.*

659. *Sax. An.*

cial Christian, on the Feast of *Easter*, not protected by the holy time, was slain. The *Mercian* Nobles, *Immin*, *Eaba*, and *Eadbert*, throwing off the Government of *Oswi*, set up *Wulfer* the other Son of *Penda* to be their King, whom till then they had kept hid, and with him adhered to the Christian Faith. *Kenwalk* the *West-Saxon*, now settl'd at home, and desirous to enlarge his Dominion, prepares against the *Britans*, joins Battel with them at *Pen* in *Somersetshire*, and overcoming persues them to *Pedridan*. Another fight he had with them before, at a place call'd *Witgeornesburg*, barely mention'd by the Monk of *Malmsbury*.

661. Sax. An. Nor was it long e're he fell at variance with *Wulfer* the Son of *Penda*, his old Enemy, scarce yet warm in his Throne, fought with him at *Possentesburg*, on the *Easter* Holy-days, and as *Ethelwerd* saith, took him Prisner; but the *Saxon* Annals, quite otherwise, that *Wulfer* winning the field, wasted the *West-Saxon* Country as far as *Eskesdun*; nor staying there, took and wasted the Ile of *Wight*, but causing the Inhabitants to be baptiz'd, till then unbelievers, gave the Iland to *Ethelwald* King of *South-Saxons*, whom he had receav'd out of the Font.

664. Bede. The year 664. a Synod of *Scotch* and *English* Bishops, in the presence of *Oswi* and *Alfred* his Son, was held at a Monastery in those parts, to debate on what Day *Easter* should be kept; a Controversie which long before had disturb'd the *Greek* and *Latin* Churches: wherein the *Scots* not agreeing with the way of *Rome*, nor yeilding to the

Disputants

Disputants on that side, to whom the King most enclin'd, such as were Bishops here, resign'd, and return'd home with thir Disciples. Another clerical question was there also much controverted, not so superstitious in my opinion as ridiculous, about the right shaving of Crowns. The same year was seen an Eclips of the Sun in *May*, followed by a sore Pestilence beginning in the South, but spreading to the North, and over all *Ireland* with great mortality. In which time the *East-Saxons* after *Swithelms* decease, being govern'd by *Siger* the Son of *Sigebert* the *Small*, and *Sebbi* of *Seward*, though both subject to the *Mercians*. *Siger* and his People unstedie of Faith, supposing that this Plague was come upon them for renouncing thir old Religion, fell off the second time to Infidelity. Which the *Mercian* King *Wulfer* understanding, sent *Jerumannus* a faithful Bishop, who with other his fellow Labourers, by sound Doctrin and gentle dealing, soon recur'd them of thir second relaps. In *Kent*, *Ercombert* expiring, was succeeded by his Son *Ecbert*. In whose fourth year, by means of *Theodore*, a learned *Greekish* Monk of *Tarsus*, whom Pope *Vitalian* had Ordain'd Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongue, with other Liberal Arts, Arithmetic, Music, Astronomie, and the like; began first to flourish among the *Saxons*; as did also the whole Land, under Potent and Religious Kings, more than ever before, as *Bede* affirms, till his own days. Two years after, in *Northumberland* dy'd *Oswi*, much addicted

Malms.

668. *Sax. Ann.*

690. *Sax. Ann.*

to *Romish* Rites, and resolv'd, had his Disease releas'd him, to have ended his days at *Rome*.

673. *Ecfrid* the eldest of his Sons begot in Wedlock, succeeded him. After other three years, *Egbert* in *Kent* deceasing, left nothing memorable behind him, but the general suspicion to have slain or conniv'd at the slaughter of his Uncles two Sons, *Elbert*, and *Egelbright*. In recompence wherof, he gave to the Mother of them part of *Tanet*, wherein to build an Abbey; the Kingdom fell to his Brother *Lothair*. And much about this time, by best account it should be, however plac'd in *Beda*, that *Ecfrid* of *Northumberland*, having War with the *Mercian Wulfer*, won from him *Lindsey*, and the Country thereabout. *Sebbi* having Reign'd over the *East-Saxons* thirty years, not long before his death, though long before desiring, took on him the Habit of a Monk; and drew his Wife at length, though unwilling, to the same Devotion. *Kenwalk* also dying, left the Government to *Sexburga* his Wife, who out-liv'd him in it but one year, driv'n out, saith *Mat. West.* by the Nobles,

674. disdaining Female Government. After whom several petty Kings, as *Beda* calls them, for ten years space divided the *West-Saxons*; others name two, *Escwin* the Nephew of *Kinigils*, and *Kentwin* the Son, not petty by their deeds: for *Escwin* fought a Battel with *Wulfer*,

676. at *Bedanhafde*, and about a year after both deceas'd; but *Wulfer* not without a stain left behind him, of selling the Bishoprick of *London*, to *Wini* the first *Simonist* we read of in this Sto-

ry;

Sax. Ann. *Malmsb.* *Bed. L. 4. c. 12.* *Bed. L. 4. c. 12.* *Sax. Ann.* *Malmsb.*

ry; *Kenwalk* had before expell'd him from his Chair at *Winchester*; *Ethelred* the Brother of *Wulfer* obtaining next the Kingdom of *Mercia*, not only recoverd *Lindsey*, and what besides in those parts *Wulfer* had lost to *Ecfrid* some years before, but found himself strong enough to extend his Arms another way, as far as *Kent*, wasting that Country without respect to Church or Monastery, much also endamaging the City of *Rochester*: Notwithstanding what resistance *Lothair* could make against him. In *August* 678 was seen a Morning Comet for three Months following, in manner of a fiery Pillar. And the *South-Saxons* about this time were Converted to the Christian Faith, upon this occasion. *Wilfrid* Bishop of the *Northumbrians* entring into contention with *Ecfrid* the King, was by him depriv'd of his Bishoprick, and long wandring up and down as far as *Rome*, return'd at length into *England*, but not daring to approach the North, whence he was banish'd, bethought him where he might to best purpose elsewhere exercise his Ministery. The South of all other *Saxons* remain'd yet Heathen; but *Edelwalk* their King not long before had bin baptiz'd in *Mercia*, persuaded by *Wulfer*, and by him, as hath bin said, receav'd out of the Font. For which Relations sake he had the Ile of *Wight*, and a Province of the *Meannari* adjoining, giv'n him on the Continent about *Meanesbo-row* in *Hantshire*, which *Wulfer* had a little before gott'n from *Kenwalk*. Thether *Wilfrid* takes his journey, and with the help of other

Bed. L. 4. *c.* 12.

678.

679.

Bed. L. 4. *c.* 13. *Camden.*

Spiritual Labourers about him, in ſhort time planted there the Goſpel. It had not rain'd, as is ſaid, of three years before in that Country, whence many of the people daily periſh'd by Famin; till on the firſt day of thir public Baptiſm, ſoft and plentiful ſhowers diſcending, reſtor'd all abundance to the Summer following. Two years after this, *Kentwin* theother *Weſt-Saxon* King above-nam'd, chac'd the *Welch-Britans*, as is Chronicl'd without circumſtance, to the very Sea ſhoar. But in the year, by *Beda*'s reck'ning, 683, *Kedwalla* a *Weſt-Saxon* of the Royal Line (whom the *Welch* will have to be *Cadwallader*, laſt King of the *Britans*) thrown out by faction, return'd from baniſhment, and invaded both *Kentwin*, if then living, or whoever elſe had divided the ſucceſſion of *Kenwalk*, ſlaying in fight *Edelwalk* the *South-Saxon*, who oppos'd him in thir ald; but ſoon after was repuls'd by two of his Captains, *Bertune*, and *Andune*, who for a while held the Provence in thir power. But *Kedwalla* gathering new Force, with the ſlaughter of *Bertune*, and alſo of *Edric* the ſucceſſor of *Edelwalk*, won the Kingdom: But reduc'd the People to heavy thraldome. Then addreſſing to Conquer the Ile of *Wight*, till that time *Pagan*, ſaith *Beda* (others otherwiſe, as above hath bin related) n a le a vow, though himſelf yet unbaptiz'd, to devote the fowrth part of that Iland, and the ſpoils thereof, to holy uſes. Conqueſt obtain'd, paying his vow as then was the beleef, he gave his fowrth to Biſhop *Wilfrid*, by chance there preſent; and he

681. *Sax. Ann.*

682. *Sax. an.*

Bed. L. 4. c. 15.

Malmſb.

684.

Bed. L. 4. c. 16.

to

to *Bertwin* a Priest, his Sisters Son, with commission to baptise all the vanquisht, who meant to save thir lives. But the two young Sons of *Arwald*, King of that Iland, met with much more hostility; for they as the Enemies approach flying out of the Ile, and betray'd where they were hid not far from thence, were led to *Kedwalla*, who lay then under Cure of some wounds receav'd, and by his appointment, after instruction and Baptism first giv'n them, harshly put to death, which the Youths are said above thir Age to have Christianly suffered. In *Kent*, *Lotbair* dy'd this year of his wounds receav'd in fight again the *South-Saxons*, led on by *Edric*, who descending from *Ermenred*, it seems challeng'd the Crown, and wore it, though not commendably, one year and a half; but coming to a violent Death, left the land expos'd a prey either to home-bred Usurpers, or neighbouring Invaders. Among whom *Kedwalla*, taking advantage from thir Civil Distempers, and marching easily through the *South-Saxons*, whom he had subdu'd, sorely harrass'd the Country, untouch'd of long time by any hostile incursion. But the *Kentish* men, all parties uniteing against a Common Enemy, with joynt power so oppos'd him, that he was constrain'd to retire back; his Brother *Mollo* in the fight with twelv men of his Company, seeking shelter in a House, was beset and therin burnt by the persuers: *Kedwalla* much troubl'd at so great a loss, recalling and soon rallying his disorderd Forces, return'd fiercely upon the chaseing Enemy; nor

685 *Malmsb.*

Sax. An. Malmsb.

686.

nor could be got out of the Province, till both by Fire and Sword, he had aveng'd the Death
687. of his Brother. At length *Victred* the Son of *Ecbert*, attaining the Kingdom, both setl'd at home all things in peace, and secur'd his
Bede. Borders from all outward Hostility. While thus *Kedwalla* disquieted both West and East, after his winning the Crown, *Ecfrid* the *Northumbrian*, and *Ethelred* the *Mercian*, fought a sore Battel by the River *Trent*; wherin *Elfwin* Brother to *Ecfrid*, a Youth of eighteen years, much beloved, was slain; and the accident likely to occasion much more sheding of blood. Peace was happily made by the grave exhortation of Arch-Bishop *Theodore*, a pecuniary fine only paid to *Ecfrid*, as som satisfaction for the loss of his Brother's life. Another adversity befell *Ecfrid* in his Family, by means of *Etbildrith* his Wife, King *Anna*'s Daughter, who having tak'n him for his Husband, and professing to love him above all other men, persisted twelv years in the obstinat refusal of his bed, therby thinking to live the purer life. So preverstly then was chastity instructed against the Apostles Rule. At length obtaining of him with much importunity her departure, she veild her self a Nun, then made Abbess of *Ely*, dy'd seven years after the Pestilence; and might with better warrant have kept faithfully her undertak'n Wedlock, though now canoniz'd St. *Audrey* of *Ely*. In the mean while *Ecfrid* had sent *Bertus* with a Power to subdue *Ireland*, a harmless Nation, saith *Beda*, and ever friendly to the *English*;

in

in both which they seem to have left a Posterity much unlike them at this day: miserably wasted, without regard had to places hallowed or profane, they betook them partly to thir Weapons, partly to implore Divine Aid; and, as was thought, obtain'd it in thir full avengement upon *Ecfrid*. For he the next year, against the mind and perswasion of his sagest freinds, and especially of *Cudbert* a famous Bishop of that Age, marching unadvisedly against the *Picts*, who long before had bin subject to *Northumberland*, was by them, feigning flight, drawn unawares into narrow streights overtopt with Hills, and cut off with most of his Army. From which time, saith *Bede*, military valour began among the *Saxons* to decay, nor only the *Picts* till then peaceable, but some part of the *Britans* also recover'd by Arms thir Liberty for many years after. Yet *Aldfrid* elder, but base Brother to *Ecfrid*, a man said to be learned in the Scriptures, recall'd from *Ireland*, to which place in his Brother's Reign he had retir'd, and now succeeding, upheld with much honour, though in narrower bounds, the residue of his Kingdome. *Kedwalla*, having now with great disturbance of his Neighbours, Reign'd over the *West-Saxons* two years, besides what time he spent in gaining it, wearied perhaps with his own turbulence, went to *Rome*, desirous there to receave Baptism, which till then his worldly affairs had deferr'd, and accordingly, on *Easter* Day, 689, he was baptiz'd by *Sergius* the Pope, and his name chang'd to *Peter*. All 689.

which notwithſtanding, ſurpris'd with a Diſeaſe, he outliv'd not the Ceremony ſo far fought, much above the ſpace of five weeks, in the thirtieth year of his Age, and in the Church of St. *Peter* was there buried, with a large Epitaph upon his Tomb. Him ſucceeded *Ina* of the Royal Family, and from the time of his coming in, for many years oppreſs'd the Land with like greevances, as *Kedwalla* had done before him, inſomuch that in thoſe times there was no Biſhop among them. His firſt Expedition was into *Kent*, to demand ſatisfaction for the burning of *Mollo*: *Victred* loath to hazard all for the raſh act of a few, deliver'd up thirty of thoſe that could be found acceſſory, or as others ſay, pacifi'd *Ina* with a great of money. Mean while, at the incitement of *Ecbert*, a devout Monk, *Wilbrod* a Prieſt, eminent for Learning, paſt over Sea, having twelv others in Company, with intent to preach the Goſpel in *Germany*. And coming to *Pepin* Chief Regent of the *Franks*, who a little before had conquer'd the hither *Friſia*, by his countenance and protection, promiſe alſo of many benefits to them who ſhould beleeve, they found the work of Converſion much the eaſier, and *Wilbrod* the firſt Biſhoprick in that Nation. But two Prieſts, each of them *Hewald* by name, and for diſtinction ſurnam'd from the colour of thir Hair, the Black and the White, by his example, piouſly affected to the Souls of thir Country-men the old *Saxons*, at thir coming thether to convert them, met with much worſe entertainment.

Malm. Sax. an. Ethelwerd.

694.

For

For in the House of a Farmer who had promis'd to convey them, as they desir'd, to the Governour of that Country, discoverd by thir daily Ceremonies to be Christian Priests, and the cause of thir coming suspected, they were by him and his Heathen Neighbours cruelly butcherd; yet not unaveng'd, for the Governour enrag'd at such violence offerd to his Strangers, sending armed Men, slew all those Inhabitants, and burnt thir Village. After three years in *Mercia*, *Osfred* the Queen, Wife to *Ethelred*, was kill'd by her own Nobles, as *Beda*'s Epitome Records; *Florence* calls them *Southimbrians*, negligently omitting the cause of so strange a fact. And the year following, *Bertred* a *Northumbrian* General was slain by the *Picts*. *Ethelred* seven years after the violent Death of his Queen, put on the Monk, and resign'd his Kingdom to *Kenred* the Son of *Wulfer* his Brother. The next year, *Aldfrid* in *Northumberland* dy'd, leaving *Osfred* a Child of eight years to succeed him. Fowr years after which, *Kenred* having a while with praise govern'd the *Mercian* Kingdom, went to *Rome* in the time of Pope *Constantine*, and shorn a Monk spent there the residue of his daies. *Kelred* succeeded him, the Son of *Ethelred*, who had reign'd the next before. With *Kenred* went *Offa* the Son of *Siger*, King of *East-Saxons*, and betook him to the same habit, leaving his Wife and Native Country; a comely Person in the prime of his Youth, much desir'd of the People; and such his Vertue by report, as might have otherwise bin worthy to have

697.

686.

704.

705.

709.

Reign'd. *Ina* the *West-Saxon* one year after
710. fought a Battel, at first doubtfull, at last suc-
Sax. An. ceſsfull, againſt *Gerent* King of *Wales*. The
Hunting. next year *Bertfrid*, another *Northumbrian* Ca-
711. ptain, fought with the *Picts*, and ſlaughter'd
Bede. Epit. them, ſaith *Huntingdon*, to the full avenge-
715. ment of *Ecfrid*'s Death. The fowrth year af-
Sax. An. ter, *Ina* had another doubtfull and cruel Bat-
Sax. an. tel at *Wodnesburg* in *Wiltſhire*, with *Kelred* the
Hunting. *Mercian*, who dy'd the year following a la-
mentable death: for as he ſat one day feaſt-
716. ing with his Nobles, ſuddenly poſſeſs'd with
an Evil Spirit, he expir'd in deſpair, as *Boni-
face* Arch-biſhop of *Ments*, an *Engliſh* man,
who taxes him for a defiler of Nuns, writes by
way of caution to *Ethelbald*, his next of Kin,
who ſucceeded him. *Oſred* alſo the young *Nor-
thumbrian* King, ſlain by his Kindred in the
eleventh of his Reign, for his vitious life and
inceſt committed with Nuns; was by *Kenred*
ſucceeded and aveng'd. He reigning two years
718. left *Oſric* in his room. In whoſe ſeventh year,
if *Beda* calculate right, *Victred* King of *Kent*
deceas'd, having reign'd thirty four years, and
ſome part of them with *Suebbard*, as *Beda* te-
L. 5. c. 9. ſtifies. He left behind him three Sons, *Ethel-*
725. *bert*, *Eadbert*, and *Alric* his Heirs. Three years
728. after which, appear'd two Comets about the
Sun, terrible to behold, the one before him in
the Morning, the other after him in the Even-
ing, for the ſpace of two weeks in *January*,
bending thir blaze toward the North, at which
time the *Saracens* furiouſly invaded *France*,
but were expell'd ſoon after with great over-
throw.

throw. The ſame year in *Northumberland*, *Oſric* dying or ſlain, adopted *Kelwulf* the Brother of *Kenred* his Succeſſor, to whom *Beda* dedicates his ſtory; but writes this only of him, that the beginning, and the proceſs of his Reign met with many adverſe commotions, whereof the event was then doubtfully expected. Mean while *Ina* ſeven years before, having ſlain *Kenwulf*, to whom *Florent* gives the addition of *Clito*, giv'n uſually to none but of the Blood Royal, and the fourth year after overthrown and ſlain *Allright* another *Clito*, driv'n from *Taunton* to the *South-Saxons* for aid, vanquiſh't alſo the *Eaſt-Angles* in more than one Battel, as *Malmsbury* writes, but not the year, whether to expiate ſo much blood, or infected with the contagious humour of thoſe times, *Malmsbury* ſaith, at the perſuaſion of *Ethelburga* his Wife, went to *Rome*, and there ended his days; yet this praiſe left behind him, to have made good Laws, the firſt of *Saxon* that remain extant to this day, and to his Kinſman *Edelard*, bequeath'd the Crown; No leſs than the whole Monarchy of *England* and *Wales*. For *Ina*, if we beleeve a digreſſion in the Laws of *Edward* Confeſſor, was the firſt King Crown'd of *Engliſh* and *Britiſh*, ſince the *Saxons* entrance; of the *Britiſh* by means of his ſecond Wife, ſome way related to *Cadwallader* laſt King of *Wales*, which I had not noted, being unlikely, but for the place where I found it. After *Ina*, by a ſurer Author, *Ethelbald* King of *Mercia* commanded all the Provinces on this ſide *Humber*, with thir Kings: the

Bed. L. 5. c. 24.

Bede. 731.

the *Picts* were in League with the *Englifh*, the *Scots* peaceable within thir bounds, and the *Britans* part were in thir own Government, part ſubject to the *Engliſh*. In which peaceful ſtate of the Land, many in *Northumberland*, both Nobles and Commons, laying aſide the exerciſe of Arms, betook them to the Cloiſter: and not content ſo to do at home, many in the days of *Ina*, Clerks and Laics, Men and Women, haſting to *Rome* in Herds, thought themſelves no where ſure of Eternal Life, till they were Cloiſterd there. Thus repreſenting the ſtate of things in this Iland, *Beda* ſurceas'd to write. Out of whom chiefly hath bin gatherd, ſince the *Saxons* arrival, ſuch as hath bin deliverd, a ſcatterd ſtory pickt out here and there, with ſome trouble and tedious work from among his many Legends of Viſions and Miracles; toward the latter end ſo bare of Civil matters, as what can be thence collected may ſeem a Calendar rather than a Hiſtory, tak'n up for the moſt part with ſucceſſion of Kings, and computation of years, yet thoſe hard to be reconcil'd with the *Saxon Annals*. Thir actions we read of, were moſt commonly Wars, but for what cauſe wag'd, or by what Counſells carried on, no care was had to let us know: wherby thir ſtrength and violence we underſtand, of thir wiſdom, reaſon, or juſtice little or nothing, the reſt ſuperſtition and monaſtical affectation; Kings one after another leaving thir Kingly Charge, to run thir heads fondly into a Monks Cowle: which leaves us uncertain, whether *Beda* was wanting

wanting to his matter, or his matter to him. Yet from hence to the *Daniſh* Invaſion it will be worſe with us, deſtitute of *Beda*. Left only to obſcure and blockiſh Chronicles; whom *Malmsbury*, and *Huntingdon*, (for neither they than we had better Authors of thoſe times) ambitious to adoru the Hiſtory, make no ſcruple oft-times, I doubt, to interline with conjectures and ſurmiſes of thir own: them rather than imitate, I ſhall chooſe to repreſent the truth naked, though as lean as a plain Journal. Yet *William* of *Malmsbury* muſt be acknowledg'd, both for ſtile and judgment, to be by far the beſt Writer of them all: but what labour is to be endur'd, turning over Volumes of Rubbiſh in the reſt, *Florence* of *Worſter*, *Huntingdon*, *Simeon* of *Durham*, *Hoveden*, *Matthew* of *Weſtminſter*, and many others of obſcurer note, with all their Monachiſms, is a penance to think. Yet theſe are our only Regiſters, tranſcribers one after another for the moſt part, and ſomtimes worthy enough for the things they Regiſter. This travel rather than not know at once what may be known of our Ancient Story, ſifted from Fables and Impertinences, I voluntarily undergo; and to ſave others, if they pleaſe, the like unpleaſing labour; except thoſe who take pleaſure to be all thir life time, rakeing in the Foundations of old Abbies and Cathedrals: But to my Task now as it befalls. In the year 733, on the 18th Kalends of *September*, was an Eclipſe of the Sun about the third howr of day, abſcureing almoſt his whole Orb, as with a black

733. *Sax. An. Ethelwerd.*

a black shield. *Ethelbald* of *Mercia*, besieg'd
735. and took the Castle or Town of *Somerton*: and
738. two years after, *Beda* our Historian dy'd, som
Malmsb. say the year before. *Kelwulf* in *Northumberland* three years after became Monk in *Lindisfarne*, yet none of the severest, for he brought those Monks from Milk and Water, to Wine and Ale; in which Doctrine no doubt but they were soon docil, and well might, for *Kelwulf* brought with him good provision, great treasure and revenues of Land, recited by *Simeon*, yet all under pretense of following (I use the Authors words) poor *Christ*, by voluntary poverty: no marvel then if such applause were giv'n by Monkish Writers to Kings turning Monks, and much cunning perhaps us'd to allure them. To *Eadbert* his Uncle's Son he left the Kingdom, whose Brother *Ecbert*,
740. Arch-bishop of *York* built a Library there. But two years after, while *Eadbert* was busied in War against the *Picts*, *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, by foul fraud, assaulted part of *Northumberland* in his absence, as the supplement of *Beda*'s Epitomy records. In the *West-Saxons*, *Edelard* who succeeded *Ina*, having bin much molested in the beginning of his Reign, with the Rebellion of *Oswald* his Kinsman, who contended with him for the right of succession, overcoming at last those Troubles, dy'd
741. in Peace 741, leaving *Cuthred* one of the same
Malmsb. Linage to succeed him: who at first had much
Sax. Ann. War with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian*, and various
743. successes, but joyning with him in League two
Sim. Dun. years after, made War on the *Welch*: *Huntingdon*

tingdon doubts not to give them a great Victory. And *Simeon* reports another Battel fought between *Britans* and *Picts* the year ensueing. 744. *Hoveden.*
Now was the Kingdom of *East-Saxons* drawing to a Period, for *Sigeard* and *Senfred* the Sons of *Sebbi* having reign'd a while, and after them young *Offa*, who soon quitted his Kingdom to go to *Rome* with *Kenred*, as hath bin said, the Government was conferr'd on *Sired* Son of *Sigebert* the good, who having Rul'd thirty eight years, came to a violent death; how or wherefore, is not set down. 746.
After whom *Swithred* was the last King, driven out by *Echert* the *West-Saxon*: but *London*, with the Countries adjacent, obey'd the *Mercians* till they also were dissolv'd. *Cuthred* had now reign'd about nine years, when *Kinric* his Son a valiant young Prince, was in a military tumult slain by his own Souldiers. 748. *Sax. Ann.*
The same year *Eadbert* dying in *Kent*, his Brother *Edilbert* reign'd in his stead. But after two years, the other *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, whose War with the *Picts* hath bin above-mention'd, made now such Progress there, as to subdue *Kyle*, so saith the Auctarie of *Bede*, and other Countries thereabout, to his dominion; while *Cuthred* the *West-Saxon* had a fight with *Ethelbun*, one of his Nobles, a stout Warrier, envi'd by him in some matter of the Commonwealth, as far as by the Latin of *Ethelward* can be understood (others interpret it Sedition) and with much adoe overcoming, took *Ethelbun* for his valour into favour, by whom faithfully serv'd in the twelf 750. *Huntingd.* 752. *Huntingd.* *Camden.*

or

or thirteenth of his Reign, he encounter'd in a ſet Battel with *Ethelbald* the *Mercian* at *Beorford*, now *Burford* in *Oxfordſhire*; one year
753. after againſt the *Welch*, which was the laſt but one of his life: *Huntingdon*, as his manner is to comment upon the annal Text, makes a terrible deſcription of that fight between *Cuthred* and *Ethelbald*, and the Proweſs of *Ethelhun*, at *Beorford*, but ſo affectedly, and therfore ſuſpiciouſly, that I hold it not worth reherſal; and both in that and the latter con-
Sax. Ann. flict, gives Victory to *Cuthred*; after whom
754. *Sigebert*, uncertain by what right, his Kin-
Malmsb. man, ſaith *Florent*, ſtep'd into the Throne, whom hated for his cruelty and other evil doings, *Kinwulf* joyning with moſt of the Nobi-
755. lity, diſpoſſeſs'd of all but *Hamſhire*, that Province he loſt alſo within a year, together with the love of all thoſe who till then remain'd his adherents, by ſlaying *Cumbran*, one of his Chief Captains, who for a long time had faith-
Hunting. fully ſerv'd, and now diſſuaded him from in-
Hunting. cenſing the People by ſuch Tyrannical practices. Thence flying for ſafety into *Andred* Wood, forſak'n of all, he was at length ſlain by the Swineherd of *Cumbran* in revenge of his Maiſter, and *Kinwulf* who had undoubted right to the Crown, joyfully ſaluted King.
755. The next year *Eadbert* the *Northumbrian* join-
Camden. ing forces with *Unuſt* King of the *Picts*, as *Simeon* writes, beſeig'd and took by ſurrender the City *Alcluith*, now *Dunbritton* in *Lennox*, from the *Britans* of *Cumberland*; and ten days after, the whole Army periſhed about *Niwanbirig*,

hing, but to tell us how, he forgetts. In *Mercia*, *Ethelbald* was slain, at a place call'd *Secandune*, now *Seckington* in *Warwickshire*, the year following, in a bloody fight against *Cuthred*, as *Huntingdon* surmises, but *Cuthred* was dead two or three years before; others write him murder'd in the night by his own Guard, and the Treason, as som say, of *Beornred*, who succeeded him; but ere many Months, was defeated and slain by *Offa*. Yet *Ethelbald* seems not without cause, after a long and prosperous Reign, to have fall'n by a violent death; not shameing on the vain confidence of his many Alms, to commit uncleanness with consecrated Nuns, besides Laic Adulteries, as the Arch-bishop of *Ments* in a letter taxes him and his Predecessor, and that by his Example most of his Peers did the like; which adulterous doings he foretold him were likely to produce a slothful off-spring, good for nothing but to be the ruin of that Kingdom, as it fell out not long after. The next year *Osmund*, according to *Florence*, ruleing the *South-Saxons*, and *Swithred* the *East*, *Eadbert* in *Northumberland*, following the steps of his Predecessor, got him into a Monks Hood; the more to be wonder'd, that having reign'd worthily twenty one years, with the love and high estimation of all, both at home and abroad, able still to Govern, and much intreated by the Kings his Neighbours, not to lay down his charge; with offer on that condition to yield up to him part of thir own Dominion, he could not be mov'd from his resolution, but relinquish'd his Regal Office

Camden. 757. *Sax. Ann.* *Epit. Bed.* *Sim. Dun.*

758. *Sim. Dun.* *Eccles. L.* 2.

759. Office to *Oswulf* his Son; who at the years end, though without just cause, was slain by his own Servants. And the year after dy'd *Ethelbert*, Son of *Victred*, the second of that
762. name in *Kent*. After *Oswulf*, *Ethelwald*, otherwise call'd *Mollo*, was set up King; who in his
Sim. Dun. Mat. West. third year had a great Battel at *Eldune*, by *Melros*, slew *Oswin* a great Lord, rebelling, and gain'd the Victory. But the third year after,
765. Sim. Dun. fell by the treachery of *Alred*, who assum'd
769. his place. The fowrth year after which, *Cataracta* an ancient and fair Citty in *York-shire*, was burnt by *Arnred* a certain Tyrant, who
774. Sim. Dun. the same year came to like end. And after five years more, *Alred* the King depos'd and forsak'n of all his People, fled with a few, first to *Bebba*, a strong Citty of those parts, thence to *Kinot* King of the *Picts*. *Ethelred* the Son of *Mollo*, was Crown'd in his stead. Mean while *Offa* the *Mercian*, growing powerful, had subdu'd a Neighbouring People by *Simeon*, call'd *Hestings*; and fought successfully this year with *Alric* King of *Kent*, at a place call'd *Ottanford*: the Annals also speak of wondrous Serpents then seen in *Sussex*. Nor had *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon* giv'n small proof of his valour in several Battles against the *Welch* heretofore;
775. Sax. Ann. but this year 775 meeting with *Offa*, at a place call'd *Besington*, was put to the worse, and *Offa* won the Town for which they contended. In
778. Sim. Dun. *Northumberland*, *Ethelred* having caus'd three of his Nobles, *Aldwulf*, *Kinwulf*, and *Ecca*, treacherously to be slain by two other Peers, was himself the next year driv'n into banishment,

meant, *Elfwald* the Son of *Ofwulf* succeeding in his place, yet not without Civil Broils; for in his second year *Osbald* and *Ethelheard*, two Noblemen, raising Forces against him, routed *Bearne* his General, and persueing, burnt him at a place call'd *Seletune*. I am sensible how wearisom it may likely be to read of so many bare and reasonless Actions, so many names of Kings one after another, acting little more than mute persons in a Scene: what would it be to have inserted the long Bead-roll of Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Abbesses, and thir doings, neither to Religion profitable, nor to Morality, swelling my Authors each to a voluminous body, by me studiously omitted; and left as thir propriety, who have a mind to write the Eccleliastical matters of those Ages; neither do I care to wrincle the smoothness of History with rugged names of places unknown, better harp'd at in *Camden*, and other Chorographers. Six years therefore pass'd over in silence, as wholely of such Argument, bring us to relate next the unfortunate end of *Kinwulf* the *West-Saxon*; who having laudably reign'd about thirty one years, yet suspecting that *Kineard* Brother of *Sigebert*, the former King, intended to usurp the Crown after his Decease, or revenge his Brothers expulsion, had commanded him into banishment; but he lurking here and there on the borders with a small Company, having had intelligence that *Kenwulf* was in the Country thereabout, at *Merantun*, or *Merton* in *Surrey*, at the House of a Woman whom he lov'd, went by night & beset

780. *Sim. Dun.*

786. *Ethelweerd. Malmsb.*

Sax. Ann.

Camden.

set the place. *Kenwulf* over-confident either of his Royal presence, or personal valour, issuing forth with the few about him, runs fiercely at *Kineard*, and wounds him sore, but by his followers hem'd in, is kill'd among them. The report of so great an accident soon running to a place not far off, where many more attendants awaited the Kings return, *Osric* and *Wivert*, two Earls, hasted with a great number to the House, where *Kineard* and his fellows yet remain'd. He seeing himself surrounded, with fair words and promise of great guifts, attempted to appease them; but those rejected with disdain, fights it out to the last, and is slain with all but one or two of his Retinue, which were nigh a hundred. *Kinwulf* was succeeded by *Birthric*, being both descended of *Kerdic* the Founder of that Kingdome.

788. Not better was the end of *Elfwald* in *Northumberland*, two years after slain miserably by the Conspiracy of *Siggan*, one of his Nobles, others say of the whole People at *Scilcester* by the *Roman* Wall; yet undeservedly, as his Sepulchre at *Hagustald*, now *Hexham* upon *Tine*, and some Miracles there said to be done, are alleg'd to witness; and *Siggan* five years after laid violent hands on himself. *Osred* Son of *Alcred* advanc't into the room of *Elfwald*, and within one year driv'n out, left his Seat vacant to *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, who after ten years of banishment (impris'nment, saith *Alcuin*) had the Scepter put again into his hand. The third year of *Birthric* King of *West-Saxons*, gave beginning from abroad to a

Sim. Dun. Malmsb.

Camden.

Malmsb.

Sim. Dun. 789.

new

new and fatal revolution of Calamity on this Land. For three *Daniſh* Ships, the firſt that had bin ſeen heer of that Nation arriving in the Weſt; to viſit theſe, as was ſuppos'd, Foren Merchants, the Kings gatherer of Cuſtomes taking Horſe from *Dorcheſter*, found them Spies and Enemies. For being commanded to come and give account of thir lading at the Kings Cuſtome-Houſe, they ſlew him and all who came with him; as an earneſt of the many ſlaughters, rapines, and hoſtilities, which they return'd not long after to commit over all the Iland. Of this *Daniſh* firſt arrival, and on a ſudden worſe than hoſtile Aggreſſion, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory far otherwiſe relates, as if thir landing had bin at the mouth of *Humber*, and thir ſpoilfull march far into the Countrey; though ſoon repell'd by the Inhabitants, they haſted back as faſt to thir Ships: But from what cauſe, what reaſon of State, what Authority or Public Counſell the Invaſion proceeded, makes not mention, and our wonder yet the more, by telling us that *Sigefrid* then King in *Denmark*, and long after, was a man ſtudious more of Peace and Quiet than of Warlike matters. Theſe therefore ſeem rather to have bin ſome wanderers at Sea, who with publick Commiſſion, or without, through love of ſpoil, or hatred of Chriſtianity, ſeeking booties on any Land of Chriſtians, came by chance or weather on this ſhore. The next year *Oſred* in *Northumberland*, who driv'n out by his Nobles had given place to *Ethelred*, was tak'n and forcibly

Pontan. L. 3.

Pontan. L. 4.

709. *Sim. Dun.*

791. shav'n a Monk at *York*. And the year after,
Sim. Dun. *Oelf*, and *Oelfwin*, Sons of *Elfwald*, formerly King, were drawn by fair promises from the principal Church of *York*, and after by command of *Ethelred*, cruelly put to death at *Wonwaldremere*, a Village by the great Pool in
Camden. *Lancashire*, now call'd *Winandermere*. Nor
792. was the third year less bloody; for *Osred*,
Sim. Dun. who not likeing a shav'n Crown, had desir'd
Sim. Dun. banishment and obtain'd it, returning from
Eccles. L. the Ile of *Man* with small Forces, at the se-
2. cret but deceitfull Call of certain Nobles, who by Oath had promis'd to assist him, was also tak'n, and by *Ethelred* dealt with in the same manner; who the better to avouch his Cruelties, thereupon married *Elfled* the Daughter of *Offa*: for in *Offa* was found as little Faith or Mercy. He the same year having drawn to his Palace *Ethelbrite* King of *East-Angles*, with fair invitations to marry his Daughter, caus'd him to be there inhospitably beheaded, and his Kingdome wrongfully seis'd, by the wicked counsel of his Wife, saith *Mat. West.* annexing thereto a long unlikely Tale. For which violence and bloodshed to make attonement, with Fryers at least, he bestows the reliques of St *Alban*, in a shrine of Pearl and
793. Gold. Far worse it far'd the next year with
Sim. Dun. the reliques in *Lendisfarne*; where the *Danes* landing, pillag'd that Monastery, and of Fryers kill'd some, carried away others Captive, sparing neither Priest nor Lay: which many strange thunders and firey Dragons, with other impressions in the Air seen frequently before,

fore, were judg'd to foresignifie. This year *Alric* third Son of *Victred* ended in *Kent* his long Reign of thirty four years: with him ended the Race of *Hengist*: thenceforth whomsoever Wealth or Faction advanc'd, took on him the Name and State of a King. The *Saxon Annals* of 784 name *Ealmund* then Reigning in *Kent*; but that consists not with the time of *Alric*, and I find him no where else mention'd. The year following was remarkable for the Death of *Offa* the *Mercian*, a stremuous and suttle King; he had much intercourse with *Charles* the Great, at first enmity, to the interdicting of Commerce on either side, at length much amity and firm League, as appears by the Letter of *Charles* himself yet extant, procur'd by *Alcuin* a learned and prudent man, though a Monk, whom the Kings of *England* in those dayes had sent Orator into *France*, to maintain good correspondence between them and *Charles* the Great. He granted, saith *Huntingdon*, a perpetual tribute to the Pope out of every House in his Kingdome; for yeilding perhaps to translate the Primacy of *Canterbury* to *Lichfield* in his own Dominion. He drew a trench of wondrous length between *Mercia* and the *British* Confines, from Sea to Sea. *Ecferth* the Son of *Offa*, a Prince of great hope, who also had bin Crown'd nine years before his Father's Decease, restoring to the Church what his Father had seis'd on: yet within four Months by a sickness ended his Reign. And to *Kenulf* next in right of the same Progeny bequeath'd his

794. *Malmsb.*

Asser. Men. Sim. Dun.

Kingdome. Mean while the *Daniſh* Pirates who ſtill waſted *Northumberland*, ventring on ſhoar to ſpoil another Monaſtery at the mouth of the River *Don*, were aſſail'd by the *Engliſh*, thir Chief Captain ſlain on the place; then returning to Sea, were moſt of them Ship-wracked; others driv'n again on ſhoar, were put all to the Sword. *Simeon* attributes this thir punishment to the power of St *Cudbert*, offended with them for the rifling of his Covent.

796. *Sim. Dun.* Two years after this, dy'd *Ethelred* twice King, but not exempted at laſt from the fate of many his Predeceſſors, miſerably ſlain by his People, ſome ſay deſervedly, as not inconſcious with them who train'd *Oſred* to his ruin. *Osbald* a Nobleman exalted to the Throne, and in leſs than a month, deſerted and expelled, was forc'd to fly at laſt from *Lindisfarne* by Sea to the *Pictiſh* King, and dy'd an Abbot. *Eardulf* whom *Ethelred* ſix years before had commanded to be put to death at *Ripun*, before the Abbey-Gate, dead as was ſuppos'd, and with ſolemn Dirge carried into the Church, after midnight found there alive, I read not how, then baniſh'd, now recall'd, was in *York* Created King. In *Kent*, *Ethelbert* or *Pren*, whom the Annals call *Eadbright* (ſo different they often are one from another, both in timing and in naming) by ſome means having uſurp'd Regal Power, after two years Reign contending with *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, was by him tak'n Priſ'ner, and ſoon after, out of pious commiſeration let go: but not receav'd of his own, what became of him,

Malmsbury

Malmsbury leaves in doubt. *Simeon* writes, that *Kenulf* commanded to put out his Eyes, and lop off his hands; but whether the sentence were executed or not, is left as much in doubt by his want of expression. The second year after this, they in *Northumberland* who had conspir'd against *Ethelred*, now also raising Warr against *Eardulf*, under *Wada* thir Chief Captain, after much havock on either side at *Langho*, by *Whaley* in *Lancashire*, the Conspirators at last flying, *Eardulf* return'd with Victory. The same year *London*, with a grate multitude of her Inhabitants, by a sudden fire was consum'd. The year 800 made way for great alteration in *England*, uniting her seven Kingdoms into one, by *Ecbert* the famous *West-Saxon*; him *Birthric* dying Childless left next to Reign, the only surviver of that Linage, descended from *Inegild* the Brother of King *Ina*. And according to his Birth liberally bred, he began early from his youth to give signal hopes of more than ordinary worth growing up in him; which *Birthric* fearing, and withall his juster Title to the Crown, secretly sought his life, and *Ecbert* perceaving, fled to *Offa* the *Mercian*: but he having married *Eadburg* his Daughter to *Birthric*, easily gave ear to his Embassadors coming to require *Ecbert*: He again put to his shifts, escap'd thence into *France*; but after three years banishment there, which perhaps contributed much to his Education, *Charles* the great then Reigning, he was call'd over by the Public Voice (for *Birthric* was newly dead)

798. *Sim. Dun.*

800.

Malms.

Sax. Ann.

and with general applause Created King of *West-Saxons*. The same day *Ethelmund* at *Kinneresford*, passing over with the *Worcestershire* men, was met by *Weolstan* another Nobleman with those of *Wiltshire*, between whom happen'd a great fray, wherein the *Wiltshire* men overcame, but both Dukes were slain, no reason of thir quarrel writ'n; such bickerings to recount, met oft'n in these our Writers, what more worth is it then to Chronicle the Warrs of Kites, or Crows, flocking and fighting in the Air? The year following, *Eardulf* the *Northumbrian*, leading forth an Army against *Kenulf* the *Mercian*, for harboring certain of his Enemies, by the diligent mediation of other Princes and Prelats, Arms were laid aside, and amity soon sworn between them. But *Eadburga* the Wife of *Birthric*, a Woeman every way wick'd, in malice especially cruel, could not or car'd not to appease the general hatred justly conceav'd against her; accustom'd in her Husbands days to accuse any whom she spighted; and not prevailing to his ruine, her practice was by poison secretly to contrive his death. It fortun'd that the King her Husband, lighting on a Cup which she had tempered, not for him, but for one of his great Favourites, whom she could not harm by accusing, sip'd therof only, and in a while after still pineing away, ended his daies; the favourite drinking deeper found speedier the Operation. She fearing to be question'd for these facts, with what treasure she had, pass'd over-sea to *Charles* the Great, whom with rich guifts coming to his

801. *Sim. Dun.*

Malmsb. L. 2. Asser.

802. *Sim. Dun.*

his presence, the Emperour courtly receav'd with this pleasant proposal: Choose *Eadburga*, which of us two thou wilt, me or my Son (for his Son stood by him) to be thy Husband: She no dissembler of what she lik'd best, made easie answer. Were it in my choice, I should choose of the two your Son rather, as the younger man. To whom the Emperour between jest and earnest, Hadst thou chosen me, I had bestow'd on thee my Son; but since thou hast chos'n him, thou shalt have neither him nor me. Nevertheless he assign'd her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess; for that life it may seem, she chose next to profess; but being a while after detected of unchastity, with one of her followers, she was commanded to depart thence; from that time wandring poorly up and down with one Servant, in *Pavia* a City of *Italy*, she finish'd at last in beggery her shamefull life. In the year 805 *Cuthred*, whom *Kenulf* the *Mercian* had, instead of *Pren*, made King in *Kent*, having obscurely Reign'd eight years, deceas'd. In *Northumberland*, *Eardulf* the year following was driv'n out of his Realm by *Alfwold*, who Reign'd two years in his room; after whom *Eandred* Son of *Eardulf* 33 years; but I see not how this can stand with the sequel of story out of better Authors: Much less that which *Buchanan* relates, the year following, of *Acaius* King of *Scots*, who having Reign'd 32 years, and dying in 809, had formerly aided (but in what year of his Reign tells not) *Hungus* King of *Picts* with 10000 *Scots*, against *Athelstan* a *Saxon*

805. *Malmsb. Sax. An.*
806. *Hunting. Sim. Dun.*
808. *Mat. West.*
809.

or *English-man*, then wasting the *Pictish* Borders; that *Hungus* by the aid of those *Scots* and the help of S. *Andrew* thir Patron, in a Vision by night, and the appearance of his Cross by day, routed the astonisht *English*, and slew *Athelstan* in fight. Who this *Athelstan* was, I believe no man knows; *Buchanan* supposes him to have bin som *Danish* Commander, on whom King *Alured*, or *Alfred*, had bestow'd *Northumberland*; but of this I find no footstep in our Ancient Writers; and if any such thing were done in the time of *Alfred*, it must be little less than 100 years after; this *Athelstan* therfore, and this great overthrow, seems rather to have bin the fancy of som Legend than any warrantable Record. Mean while *Eebert*, having with much Prudence, Justice, and Clemency, a work of more than one year, establisht his Kingdom, and himself in the affections of his People, turns his first enterprise against the *Britans*, both them of *Cornwall*, and those beyond *Sedvern*, subduing both. In *Mercia*, *Kenulf* the 6th year after, having reign'd with great praise of his Religious mind and Vertues, both in Peace and War, deceas'd. His Son *Kenelm*, a Child of seven years, was committed to the care of his Eldest Sister *Quendred*, who with a female ambition aspiring to the Crown, hir'd one who had the charge of his Nurture, to murder him, led into a woody place upon pretence of hunting. The murder, as is reported, was miraculously reveal'd; but to tell how, by a Dove dropping a writ'n Note on the Altar at *Rome*, is a long story told,

Sim. Dun. 813. *Sax. Ann.*

told, though out of order, by *Malmsbury*; and under the year 821 by *Mat. West.* where I leave it to be sought by such as are more credulous than I wish my Readers. Only the Note was to this purpose:

Law in a Mead of Kine under a Thorn,
Of Head bereft li'th poor Kenelm *King-born.*

Keolwulf the Brother of *Kenulf*, after one years Reign was driv'n out by one *Bernulf* an Usurper: who in his third year, uncertain whether invading or invaded, was by *Echert*, though with great loss on both sides, overthrown and put to flight at *Ellandune* or *Wilton*: yet *Malmsbury* accounts this Battel fought in 806 a wide difference, but frequently found in thir computations. *Bernulf* thence retiring to the *East-Angles*, as part of his Dominion by the late seisure of *Offa*, was by them met in the field and slain: but they doubting what the *Mercians* might do in revenge hereof, forthwith yielded themselves both King and People to the Sovranty of *Echert*. As for the Kings of *East-Angles* our *Annals* mention them not since *Ethelwald*; him succeeded his Brother's Sons, as we find in *Malmsbury*, *Aldulf* (a good King, well acquainted with *Bede*) and *Elwold* who left the Kingdom to *Beorn*, he to *Ethelred* the Father of this *Ethelbrite*, whom *Offa* perfidiously put to death. *Simeon* and *Hoveden*, in the year 749 write that *Elfwald* King of *East-Angles* dying, *Humbeanna* and *Albert* shar'd the Kingdome between them; but where

820. *Ingulf.* 823. *Sax. An.*

Florent. Genealog. Bed. L. 2. c. 15.

where to insert this among the former successions is not easie, nor much material: after *Ethelbrite*, none is nam'd of that Kingdom till thir submitting now to *Ecbert*: he from this Victory against *Bernulf* sent part of his Army under *Ethelwulf* his Son, with *Alstan* Bishop of *Shirburn*, and *Wulferd* a Chief Commander, into *Kent*. Who finding *Baldred* there reigning in his 18*th* year, overcame and drove him over the *Thames*; whereupon all *Kent*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, and lastly *Essex*, with her King *Swithred*, became subject to the Dominion of *Ecbert*. Neither were these all his exploits of this year, the first in order set down in *Saxon Annals*, being his fight against the *Devonshire Welch*, at a place call'd *Gafulford*, now *Camelford* in *Cornwall*. *Ludiken* the *Mercian*, after two years preparing to avenge *Bernulf* his Kinsman on the *East-Angles*, was by them with his five Consuls, as the Annals call them, surpriz'd and put to the Sword: and *Withlaf* his Successor first vanquisht, then upon submission with all *Mercia*, made Tributary to *Ecbert*. Mean while the *Northumbrian* Kingdom of it self was fall'n to shivers; thir Kings one after another so oft'n slain by the People, no man daring, though never so ambitious, to take up the Scepter which many had found so hot, (the only effectual cure of ambition that I have read) for the space of 33 years, after the death of *Ethelred* Son of *Mollo*, as *Malmsbury* writes, there was no King: many Noblemen and Prelats were fled the Country. Which mis-rule among them, the *Danes* having understood,

Camden. 825. *Ingulf.*

oft-

oft-times from thir Ships entring far into the Land, infeſted thoſe parts with wide depopulation, waſting Towns, Churches, and Monaſteries, for they were yet Heathen: The *Lent* before whoſe coming, on the North-ſide of St. *Peter*'s Church in *York*, was ſeen from the roof to rain Blood. The cauſes of theſe Calamites, and the ruin of that Kingdom, *Alcuin*, a learned Monk living in thoſe days, attributes in ſeveral Epiſtles, and well may, to the general ignorance and decay of learning, which crept in among them after the death of *Beda*, and of *Ecbert* the Arch-biſhop; thir neglect of breeding up youth in the Scriptures, the ſpruce and gay apparel of their Prieſts and Nuns, diſcovering thir vain and wanton minds, examples are alſo read, eev'n in *Beda*'s days, of thir wanton deeds: thence Altars defil'd with Perjuries, Cloiſters violated with Adulteries, the Land polluted with blood of thir Princes, Civil Diſſentions among the People, and finally all the ſame Vices which *Gildas* alleg'd of old to have ruin'd the *Britans*. In this eſtate *Ecbert*, who had now Conquer'd all the South, finding them in the year 827 (for he was march'd thether with an Army to compleat his Conqueſt of the whole Iland) no wonder if they ſubmitted themſelves to the yoke without reſiſtance, *Eandred* thir King becoming Tributary. Thence turning his Forces the year following, he ſubdu'd more throughly what remain'd of *North-Wales*. 827. 828. *Mat. Weſt.*

The End of the Fourth Book.

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK V.

THE ſumm of things in this Iland, or the beſt part therof, reduc't now under the Power of one Man; and him one of the worthieſt, which, as far as can be found in good Authors, was by none attain'd at any time heer before unleſs in Fables; men might with ſom reaſon have expected from ſuch Union, Peace and Plenty, Greatneſs, and the flouriſhing of all Eſtates and Degrees: but far the contrary fell out ſoon after, Invaſion, Spoil, Deſolation, ſlaugher of many, ſlavery of the reſt, by the forcible landing of a fierce Nation; *Danes* commonly called, and ſomtimes *Dacians*, by others, the ſame with *Normans*; as barbarous as the *Saxons* themſelves were at firſt reputed, and much more;

more; for the *Saxons* first invited came hither to dwell; these unsent for, unprovok'd, came only to destroy. But if the *Saxons*, as is above related, came most of them from *Jutland* and *Angles*, a part of *Denmarke*, as *Danish* Writers affirm, and that *Danes* and *Normans* are the same; then in this Invasion, *Danes* drove out *Danes*, thir own Posterity. And *Normans* afterwards, none but Ancienter *Normans*. Which Invasion perhaps, had the Heptarchy stood divided as it was, had either not bin attempted, or not uneasily resisted; while each Prince and People, excited by thir neerest concernments, had more industriously defended thir own bounds, than depending on the neglect of a deputed Governour, sent oft-times from the remote residence of a secure Monarch. Though as it fell out in those troubles, the lesser Kingdoms revolting from the *West-Saxon* yoke, and not aiding each other, too much concern'd with thir own safety, it came to no better pass; while severally they sought to repell the danger nigh at hand, rather then jointly to prevent it far off. But when God hath decreed servitude on a sinful Nation, fitted by their own Vices for no condition but servile, all Estates of Government are alike unable to avoid it. God had purpos'd to punish our instrumental punishers, though now Christians, by other Heathen, according to his Divine retaliation; Invasion for Invasion, spoil for spoil, destruction for destruction. The *Saxons* were now full as wicked as the *Britans* were at thir arrival, brok'n with luxury

Calvisius.

Pontan.

xury and sloath, either secular, or superstitious; for laying aside the exercise of Arms, and the study of all vertuous Knowledge, some betook them to over-worldly or vicious Practice, others to Religious Idleness and Solitude, which brought forth nothing but vain and delusive Visions; easily perceav'd such, by thir commanding of things, either not belonging to the Gospel, or utterly forbidden, Ceremonies, Reliques, Monasteries, Masses, Idols, add to these ostentation of Alms, got oft-times by rapine and oppression, or intermixt with violent and lustfull deeds, sometimes prodigally bestow'd, as the expiation of cruelty and bloodshed. What longer suffering could there be, when Religion it self grew so void of sincerity, and the greatest shews of purity were impur'd?

Ecbert.

Ecbert in full highth of Glory, having now enjoy'd his Conquest seven peaceful years, his victorious Army long since disbanded, and the exercise of Armes perhaps laid aside, the more was found unprovided against a sudden storm of *Danes* from the Sea, who landing in
832. the 32 of his Reign, wasted *Shepey* in *Kent*.
Sax. An. *Ecbert* the next year, gathering an Army, for
833. he had heard of thir arrival in 35 Ships, gave
Sax. An. them Battel by the River *Carr* in *Dorsetshire*; the event whereof was, that the *Danes* kept thir

thir ground, and encampt where the field was fought; two *Saxon* Leaders, *Dudda* and *Osmund*, and two Bishops as some say, were there slain. This was the only check of Fortune we read of, that *Ecbert* in all his time receav'd. For the *Danes* returning two years after with a great Navy, and joining Forces with the *Cornish*, who had enter'd League with them, were overthrown and put to flight. Of these Invasions against *Ecbert*, the *Danish* History is not silent; whether out of thir own Records or ours, may be justly doubted; for of these times at home, I find them in much uncertainty, and beholding rather to Out-landish Chronicles than any Records of thir own. The Victor *Ecbert*, as one who had done enough, seasonably now, after prosperous success, the next year with glory ended his days, and was buried at *Winchester*.

835. *Sax. Ann. Poitan. Hist. Dan. L. 4.*

836. *Sax. Ann.*

Ethelwolf.

Ethelwolf the Son of *Ecbert* succeeded, by *Malmsbury* describ'd a man of mild nature, not inclin'd to War, or delighted with much Dominion; that therfore contented with the ancient *West-Saxon* bounds, he gave to *Ethelstan* his Brother, or Son, as some write, the Kingdom of *Kent* and *Essex*. But the *Saxon* Annalist, whose Autority is Elder, saith plainly, that both these Countries and *Sussex*, were bequeath'd to *Ethelstan* by *Ecbert* his Father. The unwarlike disposition of *Ethelwolf*,

Mat. West.

gave encouragement no doubt, and easier entrance to the *Danes*, who came again the next
837. year with thirty three Ships; but *Wulfhead*,
Sax. an. one of the Kings Chief Captains, drove them back at *Southamton* with great slaughter; himself dying the same year, of Age, as I suppose, for he seems to have bin one of *Ecberts* old Commanders, who was sent with *Ethelwolf* to subdue *Kent*. *Ethelhelm* another of the Kings Captains with the *Dorsetshire* men, had at first like success against the *Danes* at *Portsmouth*; but they reinforcing stood thir ground, and put the *English* to rout. Worse was the success of Earl *Herebert* at a place call'd *Meresware*, slain with the most part of his Army. The
838. *Sax. An.* 839. year following in *Lindsey* also, *East-Angles*, and
Sax. An. *Kent*, much mischief was done by thir landing; where the next year, imbold'nd by success, they came on as far as *Canterbury*, *Rochester*, and *London* it self, with no less cruel hostility: and giving no respit to the peaceable mind of *Ethelwolf*, they yet return'd with the next year
840. in thirty five Ships, fought with him, as before
Sax. An. *Sim. Dun.* *Mat. West.* with his Father, at the River *Carr*, and made good thir ground. In *Northumberland Eadred* the Tributary King deceasing, left the
844. same tenure to his Son *Ethelred* driv'n out in his fourth year, and succeeded by *Readwulf*, who soon after his Coronation hasting forth to Battel against the *Danes* at *Alvetheli*, fell with the most part of his Army; and *Ethelred* like in fortune to the former *Ethelred*, was reexalted to his Seat. And to be yet further like him in Fate, was slain the fourth year after.

ter. *Osbert* succeeded in his room. But more southerly, the *Danes* next year after met with som stop in the full course of thir outragious insolences. For *Earnulf* with the men of *Somersetshire*, *Alstan* the Bishop, and *Osric* with those of *Dorsetshire*, setting upon them at the Rivers mouth of *Pedridan*, slaughter'd them in great numbers, and obtain'd a just Victory. This repulse queld them, for ought we hear, the space of six years; Then also renewing thir Invasion, with lettle better success. For *Kerle* an Earl, aided with the Forces of *Devonshire*, assaulted and over-threw them at *Wigganbeorch* with great destruction; as prosperously were they fought with the same year at *Sandwich*, by King *Ethelstan*, and *Ealker* his General, thir great Army defeated, and nine of thir Ships tak'n, the rest driv'n off, however to ride out the Winter on that shoar, *Asser* saith, they then first winter'd in *Shepey Ile*. Hard it is through the bad expression of these Writers, to define this fight, whether by Sea or Land; *Hoveden* terms it a Sea fight. Nevertheless with fifty Ships (*Asser* and others add three hundred) they enter'd the mouth of *Thames*, and made excursions as far as *Canterbury* and *London*, and as *Ethelwerd* writes, destroy'd both; of *London*, *Asser* signifies only that they pillag'd it. *Bertulf* also the *Mercian*, successor of *Withlaf*, with all his Army they forc'd to fly, and him beyond the Sea. Then passing over *Thames* with thir Powers into *Surrey*, and the *West-Saxons*, and meeting there with King *Ethelwolf* and *Ethelbald* his Son, in a

845. *Sax. An.*

851. *Sax. An. Asser.*

Hunting. Mat. West.

place call'd *Ak-Lea*, or *Oak-Lea*, they receav'd a total defeat with memorable ſlaughter. This was counted a lucky year to *England*, and
853. brought to *Ethelwolf* great reputation. *Burhed*
Sax. Ann. therefore, who after *Bertulf* held of him the
Aſſer. *Mercian* Kingdom, two years after this, imploring his Aid againſt the *North-Welch*, as then troubleſom to his Confines, obtain'd it of him in perſon, and therby reduc'd them to obedience. This done, *Ethelwolf* ſent his Son *Alfrid* a Child of five years, well accompanied to *Rome*, whom *Leo* the Pope both Conſecrated to be King afterward, and adopted to be his Son; at home *Ealker* with the Forces of *Kent*, and *Huda* with thoſe of *Surrey*, fell on the *Danes* at thir landing in *Tanet*, and at firſt put them back; but the ſlain and drown'd were at length ſo many on either ſide, as left the loſs equal on both: which yet hinder'd not the ſolemnity of a Marriage at the Feaſt
Malmſb. of *Eaſter*, between *Burhed* the *Mercian*, and
854. *Ethelſwida* King *Ethelwolf*'s Daughter. How-
Sax. An. beit the *Danes* next year winter'd again in *Sheppey*. Whom *Ethelwolf* not finding humane health ſufficient to reſiſt, growing daily upon him, in hope of Divine Aid, regiſtred in a Book, and dedicated to God the tenth part of his own Lands, and of his whole Kingdom, eas'd of all impoſitions, but converted to the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms weekly to be ſung for the proſpering of *Ethelwolf* and his Captains, as appears at large by the Patent it ſelf, in *William* of *Malmsbury*. *Aſſer* ſaith, he did it for the redemption of his Soul, and the

Soul

Soul of his Ancestors. After which, as having done som great matter, to shew himself at *Rome*, and be applauded of the Pope; he takes a long and cumbersome journey thether with young *Alfrid* again, and there stayes a year, when his place requir'd him rather heer in the field against Pagan Enemies left wintring in his Land. Yet so much manhood he had, as to return thence no Monk; and in his way home took to Wife *Judith* Daughter of *Charles* the Bald, King of *France*. But ere his return, *Ethelbald* his Eldest Son, *Alstan* his trusty Bishop, and *Enulf* Earl of *Somerset* consplr'd against him; thir complaints were, that he had tak'n with him *Alfrid* his youngest Son to be there inaugurated King, and brought home with him an Out-landish Wife; for which they endeavour'd to deprive him of his Kingdome. The disturbance was expected to bring forth nothing less than Warr: but the King abhorring Civil Discord, after many conferences tending to Peace, condescended to divide the Kingdom with his Son; division was made, but the matter so carried, that the Eastern and worst part was malignly afforded to the Father: The Western and best giv'n to the Son, at which many of the Nobles had great indignation, offring to the King thir utmost assistance for the recovery of all; whom he peacefully dissuading, sat down contented with his portion assign'd. In the *East-Angles*, *Edmund* Lineal from the Ancient Stock of those Kings, a Youth of fourteen years only, but of great hopes, was with consent of all

855. *Asser.*

Asser.

857. but his own Crown'd at *Burie*. About this time, as *Buchanan* relates, the *Picts*, who not long before had by the *Scots* bin driv'n out of thir Countrey, part of them coming to *Osbert* and *Ella*, then Kings of *Northumberland*, obtain'd Aid against *Donaldus* the *Scotish* King, to recover thir Ancient Possession. *Osbert* who in person undertook the Expedition, marching into *Scotland*, was at first put to a retreat; but returning soon after on the *Scots*, oversecure of thir supposed Victory, put them to flight with great slaughter, took Pris'ner thir King, and persu'd his Victory beyond *Sterlinbridge*. The *Scots* unable to resist longer, and by Embassadors entreating Peace, had it granted them on these Conditions: the *Scots* were to quit all they had possess'd within the Wall of *Severus*: The Limits of *Scotland* were beneath *Sterlingbridge* to be the River *Forth*, and on the other side, *Dunbritton Frith*; from that time so call'd of the *British* then seated in *Cumberland*, who had joind with *Osbert* in this Action, and so far extended on that side the *British* Limits. If this be true, as the *Scotch* Writers themselv's witness (and who would think them fabulous to the disparagement of thir own Country?) how much wanting have bin our Historians to thir Countries Honour, in letting pass unmention'd an exploit so memorable, by them remember'd and attested, who are wont ofter to extenuate than to amplifie aught done in *Scotland* by the *English*? *Donaldus* on these conditions releas't, soon after dyes; according to *Buchanan*, in 858.

Ethelwolf

Ethelwolf Chief King in *England*, had the year before ended his life, and was buried as his Father at *Winchester*. He was from his youth much addicted to devotion; so that in his Fathers time he was ordain'd Bishop of *Winchester*; and unwillingly, for want of other Legitimate Issue, succeeded him in the Throne; managing therfore his greatest Affairs by the Activity of two Bishops, *Alstan* of *Sherburne*, and *Swithine* of *Winchester*. But *Alstan* is noted of Covetousness and Oppression, by *William* of *Malmsbury*; the more vehemently no doubt for doing some notable damage to that Monastery. The same Author writes, that *Ethelwolf* at *Rome*, paid a tribute to the Pope, continu'd to his days. However he were facil to his Son, and seditious Nobles, in yeilding up part of his Kingdome, yet his Queen he treated not the less honourably, for whomsoever it displeas'd. The *West-Saxons* had decreed ever since the time of *Eadburga*, the infamous Wife of *Birthric*, that no Queen should sit in state with the King, or be dignifi'd with the Title of Queen. But *Ethelwolf* permitted not that *Judith* his Queen should lose any point of Regal State by that Law. At his death, he divided the Kingdome between his two Sons, *Ethelbald*, and *Ethelbert*; to the younger *Kent*, *Essex*, *Surrey*, *Sussex*, to the Elder all the rest; to *Peter* and *Paul* certain Revenues yearly, for what uses let others relate, who write also his Pedigree, from Son to Father, up to *Adam*.

Mat. West.

Malmsb.

Sigon. de regn. Ital. L. 5.

Asser.

Ethelbald, and *Ethelbert*.

Asser. *Malmsb.* *Sim. Dun.* *Ethelbald*, unnatural and disloyal to his Father, fell justly into another, though contrary sin, of too much love to his Fathers Wife; and whom at first he oppos'd coming into the Land, her now unlawfully marrying, he takes into his Bed; but not long enjoying, dy'd at three years end, without doing aught more worthy to be rememberd; having reigned two years with his Father, impiously usurping, and three after him, as unworthily inheriting. And his hap was all that while to be unmolested by the *Danes*; not of Divine favour doubtless, but to his great condemnation, living the more securely his incestuous life. *Huntingdon* on the other side much praises *Ethelbald*, and writes him buried at *Sherburn*, with great sorrow of his People, who miss'd him long after. *Mat. West.* saith, that he repented of his Incest with *Judith*, and dismiss'd her: but *Asser* an Eye witness of those times, mentions no such thing.

860. *Sax. An.*

Ethelbert alone.

Ethelbald by death remov'd, the whole Kingdom came rightly fully to *Ethelbert* his next Brother. Who though a Prince of great Vertue and no blame, had as short a Reign allotted him as his faulty Brother, nor that so peaceful;

peaceful; once or twice Invaded by the *Danes*. But they having landed in the Weſt with a great Army, and ſackt *Wincheſter*, were met by *Oſric* Earl of *Southampton*, and *Ethelwolf* of *Bark-ſhire*, beat'n to thir Ships, and forc't to leave thir booty. Five years after, about the time of his death, they ſet foot again in *Tanet*; the *Kentiſh* men wearied out with ſo frequent Alarms, came to agreement with them for a certain ſumme of money; but ere the Peace could be ratifi'd, and the money gather'd, the *Danes* impatient of delay by a ſudden eruption in the night, ſoon waſted all the *Eaſt* of *Kent*. Mean while or ſomething before, *Ethelbert* deceaſing was buried as his Brother at *Sherburne*. 855. *Sax. Ann.*

Ethelred.

Ethelred the third Son of *Ethelwolf*, at his firſt coming to the Crown was entertained with a freſh Invaſion of *Danes*, led by *Hinguar* and *Hubba*, two Brothers, who now had got footing among the *Eaſt-Angles*; there they winter'd, and coming to terms of Peace with the Inhabitants, furniſh'd themſelves of Horſes, forming by that means many Troops with Riders of thir own: Theſe Pagans, *Aſſer* ſaith, came from the River *Danubius*. Fitted thus for a long expedition, they ventur'd the next year to make thir way over Land and over *Humber*, as far as *York*, them they found to thir hands imbroil'd in Civil Diſſentions; thir 866. *Sax. an. Huntingd.* 867. *Sax. ann.*

thir King *Osbert* they had thrown out, and *Ella* Leader of another Faction choſen in his room; who both, though late, admoniſh'd by thir Common Danger, towards the years end with United Powers made Head againſt the *Danes* and prevail'd; but perſueing them over-eagerly into *Yorke*, then but ſlenderly wall'd, the *Northumbrians* were every where ſlaughter'd, both within and without; thir Kings alſo both ſlain, thir City burnt, ſaith *Malmsbury*, the reſt as they could, made thir Peace, over-run and vanquiſht as far as the River *Tine*, and *Ecbert* of *Engliſh* Race appointed King over them. *Bromton* no Ancient Author (for he wrote ſince *Mat. Weſt.*) nor of much Credit, writes a particular Cauſe of the *Danes* coming to *York*: that *Bruern* a Nobleman, whoſe Wife King *Osbert* had raviſht, call'd in *Hinguar* and *Hubba* to revenge him. The example is remarkable if the truth were as evident. Thence Victorious, the *Danes* next year enter'd into *Mercia* towards *Nottingham*, where they ſpent the winter. *Burhed* then King of that Country, unable to reſiſt, implores the Aid of *Ethelred* and young *Alfred* his brother, they aſſembling thir Forces and joyning with the *Mercians* about *Nottingham*, offer Battel: the *Danes* not daring to come forth, kept themſelves within that Town and Caſtle, ſo that no great fight was hazarded there; at length the *Mercians* weary of long ſuſpence, enter'd into conditions of Peace with thir Enemies. After which the *Danes* returning back to *York*, made thir abode there the ſpace of

Aſſer.

868.

Aſſer.

of one year, committing, ſome ſay, many Cruelties. Thence imbarking to *Lindſey*, and all the Summer deſtroying that Country, about *September* they came with like fury into *Keſteven*, another part of *Lincolnſhire*, where *Algar*, the Earle of *Howland* now *Holland*, with his Forces, and two hunder'd ſtout Souldiers belonging to the Abbey of *Croiland*, three hundre'd from about *Boſton*, *Morcard* Lord of *Brunne*, with his numerous Family, well trained and armed, *Oſgot* Governour of *Lincoln* with 500 of that City, all joyning together, gave Battel to the *Danes*, ſlew of them a great multitude, with three of thir Kings, and perſued the reſt to thir Tents; but the night following, *Gotburn*, *Baſeg*, *Osketil*, *Halfden*, and *Hamond*, five Kings, and as many Earls, *Frena*, *Hinguar*, *Hubba*, *Sidroc* the Elder and Younger, coming in from ſeveral parts with great Forces and Spoils, great part of the *Engliſh* began to ſlink home. Nevertheleſs *Algar* with ſuch as forſook him not, all next day in order of Battel facing the *Danes*, and ſuſtaining unmov'd the brunt of thir aſſaults, could not with-hold his Men at laſt from perſueing thir counterfeited flight; whereby op'n'd and diſorder'd, they fell into the ſnare of thir Enemies, ruſhing back upon them. *Algar* and thoſe Captains fore-nam'd with him, all reſolute men, retreating to a hill ſide, and ſlaying of ſuch as follow'd them, manifold thir own number, dy'd at length upon heaps of dead which they had made round about them. The *Danes* thence paſſing on into the Country

869. *Sim. Dun.* 870. *Ingulf.*

of

of *East-Angles*, rifl'd and burnt the Monaſtery of *Elie*, overthrew Earl *Wulketul* with his whole Army, and lodg'd out the Winter at *Thetford*; where King *Edmund* aſſailing them, was with his whole Army put to flight, himſelf tak'n, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot to death with Arrows, his whole Country ſubdu'd. The next
871. year with great Supplies, ſaith *Huntingdon*,
Sax. An. bending thir march toward the *Weſt-Saxons*, the only People now left, in whom might ſeem yet to remain ſtrength or courage likely to oppoſe them, they came to *Reading*, fortifi'd there between the two Rivers of *Thames*, and *Kenet*, and about three dayes after, ſent out wings of Horſe under two Earls to forage the
Aſſer. Country; but *Ethelwulf* Earl of *Bark-ſhire*, at *Engleſefeld* a Village nigh, encounter'd them, ſlew one of thir Earls, and obtain'd a great Victory. Four dayes after came the King himſelf and his Brother *Alfred* with the main Battel; and the *Danes* iſſuing forth, a bloody fight began, on either ſide great ſlaughter, in which Earl *Ethelwulf* loſt his life; but the *Danes* loſing no ground, kept thir place of ſtanding to the end. Neither did the *Engliſh* for this make leſs haſte to another Conflict at *Eſceſdune*, or *Aſhdown*, four dayes after, where both Armies with thir whole Forces on either ſide met. The *Danes* were imbattail'd in two great Bodies, the one led by *Baſcai* and *Huſden*, thir two Kings, the other by ſuch Earls as were appointed: in like manner the *Engliſh* divided thir Powers, *Ethelred* the King ſtood againſt thir Kings; and though on the lower ground,

ground and coming later into the Battel from his Orisons, gave a fierce onset, wherein *Bascai*, (the *Danish* History names him *Ivarus* the Son of *Regnerus*) was slain. *Alfred* was plac'd against the Earls, and beginning the Battail ere his Brother came into the Field, with such resolution charged them, that in the shock most of them were slain; they are nam'd *Sidroc* Elder and younger, *Osbern*, *Frean*, *Harald*; at length in both Divisions, the *Danes* turn thir backs; many thousands of them cut off, the rest persu'd till night. So much the more it may be wonder'd to hear next in the Annals, that the *Danes* fourteen days after such an Overthrow, fighting again with *Ethelred* and his Brother *Alfred* at *Basing*, under conduct, saith the *Danish* History, of *Agnerus* and *Hubbo*, Brothers of the slain *Ivarus*, should obtain the Victory; especially since the new supply of *Danes* mention'd by *Asser*, arriv'd after this Action. But after two Months, the King and his Brother fought with them again at *Mertun*, in two Squadrons as before, in which fight hard it is to understand who had the better; so darkly do the *Saxon Annals* deliver thir meaning with more than wonted infancy. Yet these I take (for *Asser* is heer silent) to be the Chief Fountain of our Story, the Ground and Basis upon which the Monks later in time Gloss and Comment at thir pleasure. Nevertheless it appears, that on the *Saxon* part, not *Heamund* the Bishop only, but many valiant men lost thir lives. This fight was follow'd by a heavy Summer Plague; whereof, as is thought,

Pontan. Hist. Dan. L. 4.

Camd. thought, King *Ethelred* dy'd in the fifth of his Reign, and was buried at *Winburne*, where his Epitaph inſcribes that he had his deaths wound by the *Danes*, according to the *Daniſh* Hiſtory 872. Of all theſe terrible Landings and Devaſtations by the *Danes*, from the days of *Ethelwolf* till thir two laſt Battels with *Ethelred*, or of thir Leaders, whether Kings, Dukes, or Earls, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory of beſt Credit ſaith nothing; ſo little Wit or Conſcience it ſeems they had to leave any memory of thir brutiſh, rather than manly actions; unleſs we ſhall ſuppoſe them to have come, as above was cited out of *Aſſer*, from *Danubius*, rather than from *Denmark*, more probably ſome barbarous Nations of *Pruſſia*, or *Livonia*, not long before ſeated more Northward on the *Baltic* Sea.

Alfred.

Alfred the fourth Son of *Ethelwolf*, had ſcarce perform'd his Brother's Obſequies, and the Solemnity of his own Crowning, when at the months end in haſt with a ſmall Power he encounter'd the whole Army of *Danes* at *Wilton*, and moſt part of the day foyl'd them; but unwarily following the chaſe, gave others of them the advantage to rally; who returning upon him now weary, remained Maſters of the field. This year, as is affirm'd in the Annals, nine Battels had bin fought againſt the *Danes* on the South-ſide of *Thames*,

Thames, beſides innumerable excurſions made by *Alfred* and other Leaders; one King, nine Earls were fall'n in fight, ſo that weary on both ſides at the years end, League or Truce was concluded. Yet next year the *Danes* took thir march to *London*, now expos'd thir prey, there they winter'd, and thether came the *Mercians* to renue Peace with them. The year following they rov'd back to the parts beyond *Humber*, but winter'd at *Torkſey* in *Lincolnſhire*, where the *Mercians* now the third time made Peace with them. Notwithſtanding which, removing thir Camp to *Rependune* in *Mercia*, now *Repton* upon *Trent* in *Darbiſhire*, and there wintring, they conſtrain'd *Burhed* the King to fly into Forein Parts, making ſeiſure of his Kingdom, he running the direct way to *Rome*, with better reaſon than his Anceſtors, dy'd there, and was buried in a Church by the *Engliſh* School. His Kingdom the *Danes* farm'd out to *Kelwulf*, one of his Houſhold Servants or Officers, with condition to be reſign'd them when they commanded. From *Rependune* they diſlodg'd, *Hafden* thir King leading part of his Army Northward, winter'd by the River *Tine*, and ſubjecting all thoſe Quarters, waſted alſo the *Picts* and *Britiſh* beyond: but *Cuthrun*, *Oskitell*, and *Amwynd*, other three of thir Kings moving from *Rependune*, came with a great Army to *Grantbrig*, and remain'd there a whole year. *Alfred* that Summer purpoſing to try his Fortune with a Fleet at Sea (for he had found that the want of Shipping and neglect

872. *Sax. Ann.*

873. *Sax. An.* *Camden.*

874. *Sax. Ann.*

875. *Sax. An.*

lect of Navigation, had expos'd the Land to these Piracies) met with seven *Danish* Rovers, took one, the rest escaping; an acceptable success from so small a beginning: for the *English* at that time were but little experienc't
876. in Sea affairs. The next years first motion of
Sax. An. the *Danes* was towards *Warham* Castle: where *Alfred* meeting them, either by Policy, or thir doubt of his Power; *Ethelwerd* saith, by Money brought them to such terms of Peace, as that they swore to him upon a hallow'd
Florent. Bracelet, others say upon certain Reliques (a Solemn Oath it seems which they never vouchsafed before to any other Nation) forthwith to depart the Land: but falsifying that Oath, by night with all the Horse they had
Florent. (*Asser* saith, slaying all the Horsemen he had) stole to *Exeter*, and there winter'd. In *Northumberland*, *Hasden* thir King began to settle, to divide the Land, to Till, and to Inhabit. Mean while they in the West who were marched to *Exeter*, enter'd the City, coursing now and then to *Warham*; but thir Fleet the next
877. *Sax. Ann.* year sailing or rowing about the West, met with such a tempest near to *Swanswich*, or *Gnavewic*, as wrack'd 120 of thir Ships, and left the rest easie to be maister'd by those Gallies which *Alfred* had set there to guard the Seas, and streit'n *Exeter* of Provision. He the while
Asser. beleagering them in the City; now humbled with the loss of thir Navy (two Navies, saith *Asser*, the one at *Gnavewic*, the other at *Swanwine*) distress'd them so, as that they gave him as many hostages as he requir'd, and as many Oaths,

Oaths, to keep thir Covnanted Peace, and kept it. For the Summer comming on, they departed into *Mercia*, wherof part they divided amongſt themſelves, part left to *Kelwulf* thir ſubſtituted King. The Twelftide following, 878.
all Oaths forgott'n, they came to *Chippenham* *Sax. Ann.*
in *Wiltſhire*, diſpeopling the Countries round, diſpoſſeſſing ſome, driving others beyond the Sea; *Alfred* himſelf with a ſmall Company was forc'd to keep within Woods and Fenny places, and for ſome time all alone, as *Florent* ſaith, ſojourn'd with *Dunwulf* a Swine-heard, made afterwards for his devotion, and aptneſs to Learning, Biſhop of *Wincheſter*. *Haſden* and the Brother of *Hinguar*, coming with *Sim. Dun.*
twenty three Ships from *North-Wales*, where they had made great ſpoil, landed in *Devonſhire*, nigh to a ſtrong Caſtle nam'd *Kinwith*; where by the Garriſon iſſuing forth unexpectedly, they were ſlain with twelv hunder'd of thir men. Mean while the King about *Eaſter*, *Aſſer.*
not deſpairing of his Affairs, built a Fortreſs at a place call'd *Athelney* in *Somerſetſhire*, therin valiantly defending Himſelf and his Followers, frequently ſallying forth. The ſeventh week after, he rode out to a place call'd *Ecbryt-ſtone* in the Eaſt part of *Selwood*: thether reſorted to him with much gratulation the *Somerſet* and *Wiltſhire* men, with many out of *Hamſhire*, ſome of whom a little before had fled thir Countrey; with theſe marching to *Camden.*
Ethandune now *Edindon* in *Wiltſhire*, he gave Battel to the whole *Daniſh* Power, and put them to flight. Then beſeiging thir Caſtle,

within fourteen dayes took it. *Malmsbury* writes, that in this time of his receſs, to go a ſpy into the *Daniſh* Camp, he took upon him with one Servant the habit of a Fidler; by this means gaining acceſs to the King's Table, and ſomtimes to his Bed-Chamber, got knowledge of their ſecrets, thir careleſs encamping, and therby this opportunity of aſſailing them on a ſudden. The *Danes* by this misfortune brok'n, gave him more hoſtages, and renu'd thir Oaths to depart out of his Kingdom. Thir King *Gytro*, or *Gothrun*, offer'd willingly to receave Baptiſm, and accordingly came with thirty of his Friends, to a place call'd *Aldra*, *Camd.* or *Audre*, neer to *Athelney*, and were baptiz'd at *Wedmore*; where *Alfred* receav'd him out of the Font, and nam'd him *Athelſtan*. After which, they abode with him twelv dais, and were diſmiſs't with rich preſents. Where- 879. upon the *Danes* remov'd next year to *Cirenceſter*, *Sax. Ann.* thence peaceably to the *Eaſt-Angles*; which *Alfred*, as ſome write, had beſtow'd on *Gothrun* to hold of him; the bounds whereof may be read among the Laws of *Alfred*. Others of them went to *Fulham* on the *Thame*, and joyning there with a great Fleet newly come into the River, thence paſs'd over into *France* and *Flanders*, both which they enter'd, ſo far conquering or waſting, as witneſs'd ſufficiently, that the *French* and *Flemiſh* were no more able than the *Engliſh*, by Policy or proweſs to keep off that *Daniſh* Inundation from thir Land. *Alfred* thus rid of them, and intending for the future to prevent thir landing;

ing; three years after (quiet the mean while) with more Ships and better provided, puts to Sea, and at first met with four of theirs, whereof two he took, throwing the men over-board, then with two others, wherein were two of thir Princes, and took them also, but not without some loss of his own. After three years another Fleet of them appear'd on these Seas, so huge that one part thought themselvs sufficient to enter upon *East-France*, the other came to *Rochester*, and beleaguer'd it, they within stoutly defending themselves, till *Alfred* with great Forces, coming down upon the *Danes*, drove them to thir Ships, leaving for haste all thir Horses behind them. The same year *Alfred* sent a Fleet toward the *East-Angles*, then inhabited by the *Danes*, which at the mouth of *Stour*, meeting with sixteen *Danish* Ships, after some flight took them all, and slew the Souldiers aboard; but in thir way home lying careless, were overtak'n by another part of that Fleet, and came off with loss, whereupon perhaps those *Danes* who were settl'd among the *East-Angles*, erected with new hopes, violated the Peace which they had sworn to *Alfred*, who spent the next year in repairing *London*, (besieging, saith *Huntingdon*) much ruin'd and unpeopl'd by the *Danes*; the *Londoners*, all but those who had bin led away Captive, soon return'd to thir dwellings, and *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, was by the King appointed thir Governour. But after thirteen years respite of Peace, another *Danish* Fleet of 250 Sail, from the *East*

882. *Sax. Ann.*

885. *Sax. Ann.*

Sim. Dun.

886. *Sax. Ann.*

Sim. Dun.

893. *Sax. Ann.*

part of *France* arriv'd at the mouth of a River in *East Kent*, call'd *Limen*, nigh to the great Wood *Andred*, famous for length and bredth; into that Wood they drew up thir Ships four mile from the Rivers mouth, and built a Fortress. After whom *Haesten* with another *Danish* Fleet of Eighty Ships, entring the mouth of *Thames*, built a Fort at *Middleton*, the Former Army remaining at a place call'd *Apeltre*. *Alfred* perceaving this, took of those *Danes* who dwelt in *Northumberland*, a new Oath of Fidelity, and of those in *Essex*, Hostages, lest they should joyn, as they were wont, with thir Countrey-men newly arriv'd.

894. *Sax. Ann.* And by the next year, having got together his Forces, between either Army of the *Danes* encamp'd so as to be ready for either of them, who first should happ'n to stir forth; Troops of Horse also he sent continually abroad, assisted by such as could be spar'd from strong places, wherever the Countries wanted them, to encounter forageing parties of the Enemy. The King also divided sometimes his whole Army, marching out with one part by turns, the other keeping intrencht. In conclusion, rowling up and down, both sides met at *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where the *Danes* by *Alfred's* Horse Troops were put to flight, and crossing the *Thames* to a certain Iland neer *Coln* in *Essex*, or as *Camden* thinks, by *Colebrooke*, were besieg'd there by *Alfred* till provision fail'd the besiegers, another part staid behind with the King wounded. Mean while *Alfred* preparing to reinforce the seige in *Colney*, the

Danes

Danes of *Northumberland* breaking Faith, came by Sea to the *East-Angles*, and with a hunderd Ships Coasting Southward, landed in *Devonshire*, and beseig'd *Exeter*; thether *Alfred* hasted with his Powers, except a Squadron of *Welch* that came to *London*: with whom the Citizens marching forth to *Beamfleet*, where *Haestan* the *Dane* had built a strong Fort, and left a Garrison, while he himself with the main of his Army was enter'd far into the Countrey, luckily surprise the Fort, maister the Garrison, make prey of all they find there; thir Ships also they burnt or brought away with good booty, and many Prisners, among whom, the Wife and two Sons of *Heastan* were sent to the King, who forthwith set them at liberty. Whereupon *Heastan* gave Oath of Amitie and Hostages to the King; he in requital, whether freely, or by agreement, a summe of money. Nevertheless without regard of Faith giv'n, while *Alfred* was busied about *Exeter*, joyning with the other *Danish* Army, he built another Castle in *Essex* at *Shoberie*, thence marching Westward by the *Thames*, aided with *Northumbrian* and *East-Anglish Danes*, they came at length to *Severn*, pillaging all in thir way. But, *Ethred*, *Ethelm*, and *Ethelnoth*, the Kings Captains, with united Forces pitch'd nigh to them at *Buttingtun*, on the *Severn* Bank in *Montgomery-shire*, the River running between, and there many weeks attended; the King mean while blocking up the *Danes* who beseig'd *Exeter*, having eat'n part of thir Horses, the *Camden.*

reſt urg'd with hunger broke forth to their fellows, who lay encamp't on the Eaſt-ſide of the River, and were all there diſcomfited, with ſome loſs of valiant men on the King's party; the reſt fled back to *Eſſex* and thir Fortreſs there. Then *Laf*, one of thir Leaders, gather'd before Winter a great Army of *Northumbrian* and *Eaſt-Angliſh Danes*, who leaving thir Money, Ships, and Wives with the *Eaſt-Angles*, and marching day and night, ſat down before a City in the Weſt call'd *Wirheal* neer to *Cheſter*, and took it e're they could be overtak'n. The *Engliſh* after two daies ſeige hopeleſs to diſlodge them, waſted the Countrey round to cut off from them all Proviſion,
895. and departed. Soon after which, next year
Sax. Ann. the *Danes* no longer able to hold *Wirheal*, deſtitute of Vittles, enter'd *North-Wales*; thence lad'n with ſpoils, part return'd into *Northumberland*, others to the *Eaſt-Angles* as far as *Eſſex*, where they ſeis'd on a ſmall Iland call'd *Mereſig*. And heer again the Annals Record them to beſeige *Exeter*, but without coherence of ſence or ſtory. Others relate to this purpoſe, that returning by Sea from the Siege
Sim. Dun. Florent. of *Exeter*, and in thir way landing on the Coaſt of *Suſſex*, they of *Cicheſter* ſallied out, and ſlew of them many hunderds, taking alſo ſome of thir Ships. The ſame year they who poſſeſs'd *Mereſig*, intending to winter thereabout, drew up thir Ships, ſome into the *Thames*, others into the River *Lee*, and on the Bank therof built a Caſtle twenty miles from *London*; to aſſault which the *Londoners* aided

ed with other Forces march'd out the Summer following, but were soon put to flight, losing four of the King's Captains. *Huntingdon* writes quite the contrary, that these four were *Danish* Captains, and the overthrow theirs: but little credit is to be plac'd in *Huntingdon* single. For the King therupon with his Forces, lay encamp't neerer the City, that the *Danes* might not infest them in time of Harvest; in the mean time, suttlely devising to turn *Lee* stream several ways; wherby the *Danish* Bottoms were left on dry ground: which they soon perceaving, march'd over Land to *Quatbrig* on the *Severn*, built a Fortress and winter'd there; while thir Ships left in *Lee*, were either brok'n or brought away by the *Londoners*; but thir Wives and Children they had left in safety with the *East-Angles*. The next year was Pestilent, and besides the common sort took away many great Earls, *Kelmond* in *Kent*, *Brithulf* in *Essex*, *Wulfred* in *Hampshire*, with many others; and to this Evil, the *Danes* of *Northumberland* and *East-Angles* ceas'd not to endamage the *West-Saxons*, especially by stealth, robbing on the South-shoar in certain long Gallies. But the King causing to be built others twice as long as usually were built, and some of sixty or seventy Oars higher, swifter and steddier than such as were in use before either with *Danes* or *Frisons*, his own invention, some of these he sent out against six *Danish* Pirats, who had done much harm in the Ile of *Wight* and parts adjoyning. The bickering was doubtfull and

896. *Sax. Ann.*

897. *Sax. Ann.*

intricate, part on the water, part on the sands; not without loss of some Eminent Men on the *English* side. The Pirats at length were either slain or tak'n, two of them stranded; the men brought to *Winchester*, where the King then was, were executed by his Command; one of them escap'd to the *East-Angles*, her men much wounded: the same year not fewer than twenty of thir Ships perish'd on the South Coast with all thir Men. And *Rollo* the *Dane* or *Norman* Landing heer, as *Mat. West.* writes, though not in what part of the Iland, after an unsuccessful fight against those Forces which first oppos'd him, sail'd into *France*, and conquer'd the Country, since that time called *Normandy*. This is the summe of what pass'd in three years against the *Danes*, returning out of *France*, set down so perplexly by the *Saxon* Annalist, ill-guifted with utterance, as with much ado can be understood somtimes what is spok'n, whether meant of the *Danes*, or of the *Saxons*. After which troublesome time, *Alfred* enjoying three years of Peace, by him spent, as his manner was, not idely or voluptuously, but in all vertuous employments both of mind and body, becoming a Prince of his Renown, ended his daies in the year 900, the 51 of his Age, the 30th of his Reign, and was buried Regally at *Winchester*; he was born at a place call'd *Wanading* in *Berkshire*, his Mother *Osburga* the Daughter of *Oslac* the Kings Cup-bearer, a *Goth* by Nation, and of Noble descent. He was of person comlier than all his Brethren, of pleasing

900. *Asser.*

tongue

tongue and gracefull behaviour, ready wit and memory; yet through the fondnes of his Parents towards him, had not bin taught to read till the twelfth year of his Age; but the great desire of learning which was in him, soon appear'd, by his conning of *Saxon* Poems day and night, which with great attention he heard by others repeated. He was besides, excellent at Hunting, and the new Art then of Hawking, but more exemplary in devotion, having collected into a Book certain Prayers and Psalms, which he carried ever with him in his bosome to use on all occasions. He thirsted after all liberal knowledge, and oft complain'd that in his Youth he had no Teachers, in his middle Age so little vacancy from Wars, and the cares of his Kingdom, yet leasure he found sometimes, not only to learn much himself, but to communicate therof what he could to his People, by translating Books out of Latin into English, *Orosius*, *Boethius*, *Beda*'s History and others, permitted none unlern'd to bear Office, either in Court or Common-wealth; at twenty years of Age not yet Reigning, he took to Wife *Egelswitha* the Daughter of *Ethelred* a *Mercian* Earl. The Extremities which befell him in the sixt of his Reign, *Neothan* Abbot told him, were justly come upon him for neglecting in his younger dayes the complaints of such as injur'd and oppres'd repair'd to him, as then second person in the Kingdom for redres; which neglect were it such indeed, were yet excusable in a Youth, through jollity of mind unwilling perhaps

perhaps to be detain'd long with ſad and ſorrowful Narrations; but from the time of his undertaking Regal Charge, no man more patient in hearing Cauſes, more inquiſitive in Examining, more exact in doing Juſtice, and providing good Laws, which are yet extant; more ſevere in puniſhing unjuſt Judges or obſtinate Offenders. Theeves eſpecially and Robbers, to the terrour of whom in croſs wayes were hung upon a high Poſt certain Chains of Gold, as it were daring any one to take them thence; ſo that Juſtice ſeem'd in his dayes not to flouriſh only, but to triumph: no man than hee more frugal of two precious things in Mans life, his Time and his Revenue; no man wiſer in the diſpoſal of both. His Time, the day, and night, he diſtributed by the burning of certain Tapours into three equal portions: the one was for Devotion, the other for Publick or private Affairs, the third for bodily refreſhment: how each hour paſt, he was put in mind by one who had that Office. His whole Annual Revenue, which his firſt care was ſhould be juſtly his own, he divided into two equall parts; the firſt he imploy'd to Secular Uſes, and ſubdivided thoſe into three, the firſt to pay his Souldiers, Houſhold Servants and Guard, of which divided into three Bands, one attended monthly by turn; the ſecond was to pay his Architects and Workmen, whom he had got together of ſeveral Nations; for he was alſo an Elegant Builder; above the cuſtom and conceit of *Engliſhmen* in thoſe days: the third he had in readineſs

readiness to relieve or honour Strangers according to thir worth, who came from all parts to see him, and to live under him. The other equal part of his yearly wealth he dedicated to Religious uses, those of four sorts; the first to relieve the poor, the second to the building and maintenance of two Monasteries, the third of a School, where he had perswaded the Sons of many Noblemen to study Sacred knowledge and Liberal Arts, som say at *Oxford*; the fourth was for the relief of Foreign Churches, as far as *India* to the shrine of St. *Thomas*, sending thether *Sigelm* Bishop of *Sherburn*, who both return'd safe, and brought with him many rich Gems and Spices; guifts also and a Letter he receav'd from the Patriarch of *Jerusalem*, sent many to *Rome*, and for them receav'd Reliques. Thus far, and much more might be said of his Noble Mind, which render'd him the Mirror of Princes; His Body was diseas'd in his youth with a great soreness in the Seige, and that ceasing of it self, with another inward pain of unknown cause, which held him by frequent fits to his dying day; yet not disinabl'd to sustain those many glorious labours of his Life both in Peace and War. *Malmsb.*

Edward the Elder.

EDward the Son of *Alfred* succeeded, in Learning not equal, in Power and Extent of Dominion, surpassing his Father. The beginning *Malmsb.*

Huntingd. ginning of his Reign had much disturbance by *Ethelwald* an ambitious young man, Son of the King's Uncle, or Cosin German, or Brother,
901. for his Genealogy is variously deliver'd. He
Sax. Ann. vainly avouching to have equal right with *Edward* of Succession to the Crown, possess'd himself of *Winburne* in *Dorset*, and another Town diversly nam'd, giving out that there he would live or die; but encompass'd with the King's Forces at *Badburie* a place nigh, his heart failing him, he stole out by night, and fled to the *Danish* Army beyond *Humber*. The King sent after him, but not overtaking, found his Wife in the Town, whom he had married out of a Nunnery, and commanded her to be sent back
902. thether. About this time the *Kentish* men, against a multitude of *Danish* Pirats, fought prosperously at a place call'd *Holme*, as *Hoveden* records. *Ethelwald* aïded by the *Northumbrians* with Shipping, three years after, sail-
905. Sax. An. ing to the *East-Angles*, perswaded the *Danes* there to fall into the King's Territory, who marching with him as far as *Crecklad*, and passing the *Thames* there, wasted as far beyond as they durst venture, and lad'n with spoils return'd home. The King with his Powers making speed after them, between the *Dike* and *Ouse*, suppos'd to be *Suffolk* and *Cambridgeshire*, as far as the Fenns Northward, laid wast all before him. Thence intending to return, he commanding that all his Army should follow him close without delay; but the *Kentish* men, though oft'n call'd upon, lagging behind, the *Danish* Army prevented them, and joyn'd

joyn'd Battel with the King: where Duke *Sigulf* and Earle *Sigelm*, with many other of the Nobles were ſlain; on the *Danes* part, *Eoric* thir King, and *Ethelwald* the Author of this War, with others of high note, and of them greater number, but with great ruin on both ſides; yet the *Danes* kept in thir Power the burying of thir ſlain. What ever followed upon this conflict, which we read not, the King two years after with the *Danes*, both of *Eaſt-Angles*, and *Northumberland* concluded Peace, which continu'd three years, by whomſoever brok'n; for at the end thereof King *Edward* raiſing great Forces out of *Weſt-Sex*, and *Mercia*, ſent them againſt the *Danes* beyond *Humber*; where ſtaying five weeks, they made great ſpoil and ſlaughter. The King offer'd them terms of Peace, but they rejecting all, enter'd with the next year into *Mercia*, rendring no leſs hoſtility than they had ſuffer'd; but at *Tetnal* in *Staffordſhire*, ſaith *Florent*, were by the *Engliſh* in a ſet Battel overthrown. King *Edward* then in *Kent*, had got together of Ships about a hundred Sail, others gon Southward, came back and met him. The *Danes* now ſuppoſing that his main Forces were upon the Sea, took liberty to rove and plunder up and down, as hope of prey led them, beyond *Severn*. The King gueſſing what might imbold'n them, ſent before him the lighteſt of his Army to entertain them; then following with the reſt, ſet upon them in thir return over *Cantbrig* in *Glouſterſhire*, and ſlew many thouſands, among whom *Ecwils*,

907. *Sax. Ann.*

910. *Sax. Ann.*

911. *Sax. Ann.*

Ethelwerd.

Ecwils, *Hafdon*, and *Hinguar* thir Kings, and many other harſh names in *Huntingdon*; the place alſo of this fight is variouſly writt'n by *Ethelwerd* and *Florent*, call'd *Wodensfield*. The
912. year following *Ethred* Duke of *Mercia*, to
Sax. Ann. whom *Alfred* had giv'n *London*, with his Daughter in Marriage; now dying, King *Edward* reſum'd that City, and *Oxford*, with the Countries adjoyning, into his own hands, and
913. the year after, built, or much repair'd by his
Sax. Ann. Souldiers, the Town of *Hertford* on either ſide *Lee*, and leaving a ſufficient number at the work, march'd about middle Summer, with the other part of his Forces into *Eſſex*, and encamp'd at *Maldon*, while his Souldiers built *Witham*; where a good part of the Countrey, ſubject formerly to the *Danes*, yielded themſelves to his Protection. Four years after
917. (*Florent* allows but one year) the *Danes* from
Sax. Ann. *Leiſter* and *Northampton*, falling into *Oxfordſhire*, committed much rapine, and in ſome Towns thereof great ſlaughter; while another party waſting *Hertfordſhire*, met with other Fortune; for the Countrey-people inur'd now to ſuch kind of Incurſions, joyning ſtoutly together, fell upon the ſpoilers, recover'd thir own goods, with ſome booty from thir Enemies. About the ſame time *Elfled* the King's Siſter ſent her Army of *Mercians* into
Hunting. *Wales*, who routed the *Welch*, took the Caſtle
Camden. of *Bricnam-mere* by *Brecknock*, and brought away the King's Wife of that Country, with other Priſners. Not long after ſhe took *Derby* from the *Danes*, and the Caſtle by a ſharp aſſault.

assault. But the year ensueing brought a new Fleet of *Danes* to *Lidwic* in *Devonshire*, under two *Leaders*, *Otter* and *Roald*; who sailing thence Westward about the Lands end, came up to the mouth of *Severn*; there landing wasted the *Welch* Coast, and *Irchenfield* part of *Herefordshire*; where they took *Kuneleac* a *British* Bishop, for whose Ransome King *Edward* gave forty pound; but the men of *Hereford* and *Gloucestershire* assembling, put them to flight; slaying *Roald* and the Brother of *Otter*, with many more, persu'd them to a Wood, and there beset, compel'd them to give Hostages of present departure. The King with his Army sat not far off, securing from the South of *Severn* to *Avon*; so that openly they durst not, by night they twice ventur'd to Land; but found such welcome, that few of them came back; the rest anchord by a small Iland where many of them famish'd; then sailing to a place call'd *Deomed*, they cross'd into *Ireland*. The King with his Army went to *Buckingham*, staid there a month, and built two Castles or Forts on either Bank of *Ouse* ere his departing, and *Turkitel* a *Danish* Leader, with those of *Bedford* and *Northampton*, yeilded him subjection. Wherupon the next year he came with his Army to the Town of *Bedford*, took possession thereof, staid there a month, and gave order to build another part of the Town, on the South-side of *Ouse*. Thence the year following went again to *Maldon*, repair'd and fortifi'd the Town. *Turkitel* the *Dane* having small hope to thrive heer, where things with such

918. *Sax. Ann.*

919. *Sax. Ann.*

920. *Sax. Ann.*

such prudence were mannag'd against his interests, got leave of the King, with as many Voluntaries as would follow him, to pass into
921. *France*. Early the next year King *Edward* re-
ex. *Ann.* edifi'd *Towcheſter*, now *Torcheſter*; and another City in the Annals call'd *Wigingmere*. Mean while the *Danes* of *Leiſter* and *Northampton-ſhire*; not liking perhaps to be neighbour'd with ſtrong Towns, laid Seige to *Torcheſter* [but they within repelling the aſſault one whole day till ſupplies came] quitted the ſeige by night; and perſu'd cloſe by the beſeig'd, between *Birnwud* and *Ailsbury* were ſurpris'd, many of them made Priſners, and much of thir Baggage loſt. Other of the *Danes* at *Huntingdon*, aided from the *Eaſt-Angles*, finding that Caſtle not commodious, left it, and built another at *Temsford*, judging that place more opportune from whence to make thir excurſions; and ſoon after went forth with deſign to aſſail *Bedford*: but the Garriſon iſſuing out, ſlew a great part of them, the reſt fled. After this a great Army of them gather'd out of *Mercia* and the *Eaſt-Angles*, came and beſeig'd the City call'd *Wigingmere* a whole day; but finding it defended ſtouly by them within, thence alſo departed, driving away much of thir Cattel: whereupon the *Engliſh* from Towns and Citties round about joyning Forces, laid Seige to the Town and Caſtle of *Temsford*, and by aſſault took both; ſlew thir King with *Togles* a Duke, and *Manman* his Son an Earl, with all the reſt there found; who choſe to die rather than yield. Encourag'd by this, the men

of

of *Kent*, *Surrey*, and part of *Essex*, enterprise the Seige of *Colchester*, nor gave over till they won it, sacking the Town, and putting to Sword all the *Danes* therein, except some who escap'd over the Wall. To the succour of these, a great number of *Danes* inhabiting Ports and other Towns in the *East-Angles*, unite' thir Forces; but coming too late, as in revenge beleaguer'd *Maldon*; but that Town also timely releiv'd, they departed, not only frustrate of thir design, but so hotly persu'd, that many thousands of them lost thir lives in the flight. Forthwith King *Edward* with his *West-Saxons* went to *Passham* upon *Ouse*, there to guard the passage, while others were building a stone Wall about *Torchester*; to him there Earl *Thurfert*, and other Lord *Danes*, with thir Army thereabout as far as *Weoliud*, came and submitted. Wherat the Kings Soldiers joyfully cry'd out to be dismiss't home: therfore with another part of them he entered *Huntingdon*, and repair'd it, where breaches had bin made; all the people thereabout returning to obedience. The like was done at *Colnchester* by the next remove of his Army, after which both *East* and *West-Angles*, and the *Danish* Forces among them, yeilded to the King, swearing Allegiance to him both by Sea and Land: the Army also of *Danes* at *Grantbrig*, surrendring themselves took the same Oath. The summer following he came with his Army to *Stamford*, built a Castle there on the South-side of the River, where all the People of those quarters acknowledg'd him 922. *Sax. An.*

Supream. During his abode there, *Elfled* his Sister a martial Woeman, who after her Husbands death would no more marry, but gave her self to Publick Affairs, repairing and fortifying many Towns, warring sometimes, dy'd at *Tamworth* the Chief Seat of *Mercia*, whereof by guift of *Alfred* her Father, she was Lady or Queen; whereby that whole Nation became obedient to King *Edward*, as did also *North-Wales*, with *Howel*, *Cledaucus*, and *Jeothwell* thir Kings. Thence passing to *Nottingham*, he enter'd and repair'd the Town, plac'd there part *English*, part *Danes*, and receav'd fealty from all in *Mercia* of either Nation. The next Autumn, coming with his Army into *Cheshire*, he built and fortify'd *Thelwel*; and while he staid there, call'd another Army out of *Mercia*, which he sent to repair and fortifie *Manchester*. About Midsummer following, he march'd again to *Nottingham*, built a Town over against it on the South-side of that River, and with a Bridge joyn'd them both; thence journied to a place call'd *Bedecanwillan* in *Pictland*; there also built and fenc'd a City on the Borders, where the King of *Scots* did him Honour as to his Sovran, together with the whole *Scotish* Nation; the like did *Reginald* and the Son of *Eadulf*, *Danish* Princes, with all the *Northumbrians*, both *English* and *Danes*. The King also of a People thereabout call'd *Streatgledwalli* (the North *Welch*, as *Camden* thinks, of *Strat-Cluid* in *Denbigh-shire*, perhaps rather the *British* of *Cumberland*) did him homage, and

923. *Sax. ann.*

924. *Sax. ann.*

and not undeserv'd. For *Buchanan* himself confesses, that this King *Edward*, with a small number of men compar'd to his Enemies, overthrew in a great Battel, the whole United Power both of *Scots* and *Danes*, slew most of the *Scotish* Nobility, and forc'd *Malcolmb*, whom *Constantine* the *Scotish* King had made General, and design'd Heir of his Crown, to save himself by flight, sore wounded. Of the *English*, he makes *Athelstan* the Son of *Edward* Chief Leader; and so far seems to confound Times and Actions, as to make this Battel the same with that fought by *Athelstan*, about twenty four years after at *Brunesbirg*, against *Anlaf* and *Constantine*, whereof hereafter. But here *Buchanan* takes occasion to inveigh against the *English* Writers, upbraiding them with ignorance, who affirm *Athelstan* to have bin Supream King of *Britan*, *Constantine* the *Scotish* King with others to have held of him: and denies that in the Annals of *Marianus Scotus*, any mention is to be found therof; which I shall not stand much to contradict, for in *Marianus*, whether by Surname or by Nation *Scotus*, will be found as little mention of any other *Scotish* affairs, till the time of King *Dunchad* slain by *Machetad*, or *Mackbeth*, in the year 1040. which gives cause of suspicion, that the Affairs of *Scotland* before that time were so obscure as to be unknown to thir own Country-man, who liv'd and wrote his Chronicle not long after. But King *Edward* thus nobly doing, and thus honour'd, the year following dy'd at *Farendon*; 925.

Buch. L. 6.

Buch. L. 6.

Sax. ann.

Huntingd. Mat. West. a builder and restorer eev'n in War, not a destroyer of his Land. He had by several Wives many Children; his Eldest Daughter *Edgith* he gave in marriage to *Charles* King of *France*, Grand-Child of *Charles* the *Bald* above-mention'd; of the rest in place convenient. His Laws are yet to be seen. He was buried at *Winchester*, in the Monastery by *Alfred* his Father. And a few days after him dy'd *Ethelward* his Eldest Son, the Heir of his Crown. He had the whole Iland in subjection, yet so as petty Kings Reign'd under him. In *Northumberland*, after *Ecbert* whom the *Danes* had set up, and the *Northumbrians* yet unruly under thir Yoke, at the end of six years had expell'd, one *Riesig* was set up King, and bore the name three years; then another *Ecbert*, and *Guthred*; the latter if we beleeve Legends, of a Servant made King by command of S. *Cudbert*, in a Vision; and enjoyn'd by another Vision of the same Saint, to pay well for his Royalty many Lands and Privileges to his Church and Monastery. But now to the Story.

Sim. Dun.

Athelstan.

Athelstan next in Age to *Ethelward* his Brother, who deceas'd untimely few dayes before, though born of a Concubine, yet for the great appearance of many Vertues in him, and his Brethren being yet under Age, was exalted to the Throne, at *Kingstone* upon *Thames*,

926.

Thames, and by his Fathers last Will, saith *Malmsbury*, yet not without some opposition of one *Alfred* and his Accomplices; who not liking he should Reign, had consprir'd to seise on him after his Father's death, and to put out his Eyes. But the Conspiratours discover'd, and *Alfred* denying the Plot, was sent to *Rome*, to assert his innocence before the Pope; where taking his Oath on the Altar, he fell down immediatly, and carried out by his Servants, three daies after dy'd. Mean while beyond *Humber*, the *Danes*, though much aw'd were not idle. *Inguald* one of thir Kings took possession of *York*. *Sitric* who some years before had slain *Niel* his Brother, by force took *Davenport* in *Cheshire*; and however he defended these doings, grew so considerable, that *Athelstan* with great Solemnity gave him his Sister *Edgith* to Wife: but he enjoy'd her not long, dying ere the years end, nor his Sons *Anlaf* and *Guthfert* the Kingdome, driv'n out the next year by *Athelstan*; not unjustly saith *Huntingdon*, as being first raisers of the War. *Simeon* calls him *Gudfrid* a *British* King, whom *Athelstan* this year drove out of his Kingdome; and perhaps they were both one, the name and time not much differing, the place only mistak'n. *Malmsbury* differs in the name also, calling him *Aldulf* a certain Rebel. Them also I wish as much mistaken, who write that *Athelstan*, jealous of his younger Brother *Edwin*'s towardly Vertues, lest added to the right of Birth, they might some time or other call in question his

Malmsb.

Sim. Dun.

Malmsb. *Mat. West.* 927.

Sax. ann.

933. illegitimate precedence, caus'd him to be
Sim. Dun. drown'd in the Sea; expos'd, some say, with one Servant in a rott'n Bark, without Sail or Oar; where the youth far off Land, and in rough weather despairing, threw himself over-board; the Servant more patient, got to Land and reported the success. But this *Malmsbury* confesses to be sung in old Songs, not read in warrantable Authors: and *Huntingdon* speaks of a sad accident to *Athelstan*, that he lost his Brother *Edwin* by Sea; far the more credible, in that *Athelstan*, as is writ'n by all, tenderly lov'd, and bred up the rest of his Brethren, of whom he had no less cause to
934. be jealous. And the year following he pro-
Sax. Ann. spet'd better than from so foul a Fact, passing
Sim. Dun. into *Scotland* with great Puissance, both by Sea and Land, and chaceing his Enemies before him, by Land as far as *Dunfeoder*, and *Wertamore*, by Sea as far as *Cathnes*. The cause of this Expedition, saith *Malmsbury*, was to demand *Gudfert* the Son of *Sitric*, thether fled, though not deny'd at length by *Constantine*, who with *Eugenius* King of *Cumberland*, at a place call'd *Dacor* or *Dacre* in that Shire, surrender'd himself and each his Kingdom to *Athelstan*, who brought back with him for hostage the Son of *Constantine*. But *Gudfert* e-
Florent. scaping in the mean while out of *Scotland*, and *Constantine* exasperated by this Invasion, perswaded *Anlaf* the other Son of *Sitric* then fled
Florent. into *Ireland*, others write *Anlaf* King of *Ire-*
Sim. Dun. *land* and the *Iles*, his Son in Law, with 615 Ships, and the King of *Cumberland* with other Forces,

forces, to his aid. This within four years effected, they enter'd *England* by *Humber*, and fought with *Athelstan* at a place call'd *Wendune*, others term it *Brunanburg*, others *Brunesford*, which *Ingulf* places beyond *Humber*, *Camden* in *Glendale* of *Northumberland* on the *Scotch* Borders; the bloodiest fight, say Authors, that ever this Iland saw, to describe which, the *Saxon* Annalist wont to be sober and succinct, whether the same or another writer, now labouring under the weight of his Argument, and over-charg'd, runs on a sudden into such extravagant Fansies and Metaphors, as bear him quite beside the scope of being understood. *Huntingdon*, though himself peccant enough in this kind, transcribes him word for word as a pastime to his Readers. I shall only summe up what of him I can attain, in usual Language. The Battel was fought eagerly from morning till night; some fell of King *Edwards* old Army, try'd in many a Battel before; but on the other side great multitudes, the rest fled to thir Ships. Five Kings, and seven of *Anlaf*'s Chief Captains were slain on the place, with *Froda* a *Norman* Leader; *Constantine* escap'd home, but lost his Son in the fight, if I understand my Author; *Anlaf* by Sea to *Dublin*, with a small remainder of his great Hoast. *Malmsbury* relates this War, adding many circumstances after this manner. That *Anlaf* joyning with *Constantine* and the whole Power of *Scotland*, besides those which he brought with him out of *Ireland*, came on far Southwards, till *Athelstan* who had retir'd on set 938. *Sax. An.* *Malmsb.*

purpose to be the surer of his Enemies, enclosed from all succour and retreat, met him at *Bruneford*. *Anlaf* perceaving the valour and resolution of *Athelstan*, and mistrusting his own Forces though numerous, resolv'd first to spie in what posture his Enemies lay: and imitating perhaps what he heard attempted by King *Alfred* the Age before, in the habit of a Musician, got access by his Lute and Voice to the Kings Tent, there playing both the Minstrel and the Spie: then towards Evening dismis't, he was observ'd by one who had bin his Souldier and well knew him, viewing earnestly the Kings Tent, and what approaches lay about it, then in the twilight to depart. The Souldier forthwith accquaints the King, and by him blamed for letting go his Enemy, answer'd, that he had giv'n first his military Oath to *Anlaf*; whom if he had betray'd, the King might suspect him of like treasonous mind towards himself; which to disprove, he advis'd him to remove his Tent a good distance off; and so don, it happ'nd that a Bishop with his Retinue coming that night to the Army, pitch'd his Tent in the same place, from whence the King had remov'd. *Anlaf* coming by night as he had design'd to assault the Camp, and especially the Kings Tent, finding there the Bishop in stead, slew him with all his Followers. *Athelstan* took the Alarm, and as it seems, was not found so unprovided, but that the day now appearing, he put his men in order, and maintain'd the fight till Evening; wherin *Constantine* himself was slain with five other Kings, and twelv

Earls,

Earls, the Annals were content with ſeav'n, in the reſt not diſagreeing. *Ingulf* Abbot of *Croyland* from the autority of *Turketul* a principal Leader in this Battel, relates it more at large to this effect: that *Athelſtan* above a mile diſtant from the place where execution was don upon the Biſhop and his Supplies, allarm'd at the noiſe, came down by break of day, upon *Anlaf* and his Army, overwatch't and wearied now with the ſlaughter they had made, and ſomthing out of order, yet in two main Battels. The King therefore in like manner dividing, led the one part, conſiſting moſt of *Weſt-Saxons*, againſt *Anlaf* with his *Danes* and *Iriſh*, committing the other to his Chancellor *Turketul*, with the *Mercians* and *Londoners* againſt *Conſtantine* and his *Scots*. The ſhowr of Arrows and Darts over-paſs't, both Battels attack'd each other with a cloſe and terrible ingagement, for a long ſpace neither ſide giving ground. Till the Chancellor *Turketul*, a man of great ſtature and ſtrength, taking with him a few *Londoners* of ſelect valour, and *Singin* who led the *Worſterſhire* men, a Captain of undaunted courage, broke into the thickeſt, making his way firſt through the *Picts* and *Orkeners*, then through the *Cumbrians* and *Scots*, and came at length where *Conſtantine* himſelf fought, unhors'd him, and us'd all means to take him alive; but the *Scots* valiantly defending thir King, and laying load upon *Turketul*, which the goodneſs of his Armour well endured, he had yet bin beat'n down, had not *Singin* his faithful ſecond at the ſame time ſlain

Con-

Constantine; which once known, *Anlaf* and the whole Army betook them to flight, wherof a huge multitude fell by the Sword. This *Turketul* not long after leaving worldly Affairs, became Abbot of *Croyland*, which at his own cost he had repair'd, from *Danish* ruins, and left there this memorial of his former actions. *Athelstan* with his Brother *Edmund* victorious, thence turning into *Wales*, with much more ease vanquish'd *Ludwal* the King, and possest his Land. But *Malmsbury* writes, that commiserating human chance, as he displac'd, so he restor'd both him and *Constantine* to their Regal State; for the surrender of King *Constantine* hath bin above spok'n of. However the *Welch* did him homage at the City of *Hereford*, and covnanted yearly payment of Gold 20 pound, of Silver 300, of *Oxen* 25 thousand, besides Hunting Dogs and Hawks. He also took *Exeter* from the *Cornish Britans*, who till that time had equal right there with the *English*, and bounded them with the River *Tamar*, as the other *British* with *Wey*. Thus dreaded of his Enemies, and renown'd far and
941. neer, three years after he dy'd at *Gloster*, and
Sax. An. was buried with many Trophies at *Malmsbury*,
Malmsb. where he had caus'd to be laid his two Colin
Ingulf. Germans, *Elwin* and *Ethelstan*, both slain in the Battel against *Anlaf*. He was thirty years old at his coming to the Crown, mature in wisdom from his Childhood, comly of person and behaviour; so that *Alfred* his Grandfather in blessing him was wont to pray he might live to have the Kingdom, and put him yet a Child

Child into Souldiers habit. He had his breeding in the Court of *Elfled* his Aunt, of whose Vertues more than female we have related, sufficient to evince that his Mother, though said to be no wedded Wife, was yet such of parentage and worth, as the Royal Line disdain'd not, though the Song went in *Malmsburies* daies (for it seems he refus'd not the autority of Ballats for want of better) that his Mother was a Farmers Daughter, but of excellent feature; who dreamt one night she brought forth a Moon that should enlight'n the whole Land: which the Kings Nurse hearing of, took her home and bred up Courtly; that the King coming one day to visit his Nurse, saw there this Damsel, lik'd her, and by earnest suit prevailing, had by her this famous *Athelstan*, a bounteous, just and affable King, as *Malmsbury* sets him forth; nor less honour'd abroad by Foren Kings, who sought his Friendship by great guifts or affinity; that *Harold* King of *Noricum* sent him a Ship, whose Prow was of Gold, Sails Purple, and other Golden things, the more to be wonder'd at, sent from *Noricum*, whether meant *Norway* or *Bavaria*, the one place so far from such superfluity of wealth, the other from all Sea: the Embassadors were *Helgrim* and *Offrid*, who found the King at *York*. His Sisters he gave in marriage to greatest Princes, *Elgif* to *Otho* Son of *Henry* the Emperour, *Egdith* to a certain Duke about the *Alpes*, *Edgiv* to *Ludwic* King of *Aquitain*, sprung of *Charles* the Great, *Ethilda* to *Hugo* King of *France*, who sent *Al-*

dulf

dulf Son of *Baldwin*, Earl of *Flanders*, to obtain her. From all these great Suitors, especially from the Emperour and King of *France* came rich presents, Horses of excellent breed, Gorgeous Trappings and Armour, Reliques, Jewels, Odors, Vessels of Onyx, and other precious things, which I leave Poetically describ'd in *Malmsbury*, tak'n, as he confesses, out of an old versifier, some of whose Verses he recites. The only blemish left upon him, was the exposing of his Brother *Edwin*, who disavow'd by Oath the treason wherof he was accus'd, and implor'd an equal hearing. But these were Songs, as before hath bin said, which add also that *Athelstan*, his anger over, soon repented of the Fact, and put to death his Cup-bearer, who had induc't him to suspect and expose his Brother, put in mind by a word falling from the Cup-bearers own mouth, who slipping one day as he bore the Kings Cup, and recovring himself on the other leg, said aloud, fatally as to him it proved, One Brother helps the other. Which words the King laying to heart, and pondring how ill he had done to make away his Brother, aveng'd himself first on the adviser of that Fact, took on him seav'n years penance, and as *Mat. West.* saith, built two Monasteries for the Soul of his Brother. His Laws are extant among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings to this day.

Edmund.

Edmund.

Edmund not above eighteen years old ſucceeded his Brother *Athelſtan*, in courage not inferior. For in the ſecond of his Reign he free'd *Mercia* of the *Danes* that remain'd there, and took from them the Cities of *Lincoln*, *Nottingham*, *Stamford*, *Darby*, and *Leiſter*, where they were plac'd by King *Edward*, but it ſeems gave not good proof of their fidelity. *Simeon* writes that *Anlaf* ſetting forth from *York*, and having waſted Southward as far as *Northampton*, was met by *Edmund* at *Leiſter*; but that e're the Battails joyn'd, Peace was made between them by *Odo* and *Wulſtan* the two Arch-biſhops, with converſion of *Anlaf*; for the ſame year *Edmund* receav'd at the Font-ſtone this or another *Anlaf*, as ſaith *Huntingdon*, not him ſpok'n of before, who dy'd this year (ſo uncertain they are in the Story of theſe times alſo) and held *Reginald* another King of the *Northumbers*, while the Biſhop confirm'd him: thir limits were divided North and South by *Watling-ſtreet*. But ſpiritual kindred little avail'd to keep peace between them, whoever gave the cauſe; for we read him two years after driving *Anlaf* (whom the Annals now firſt call the Son of *Sitric*) and *Suthfrid* Son of *Reginald* out of *Northumberland*, taking the whole Country into ſubjection. *Edmund* the next year harras'd *Cumberland*, than gave it to *Malcolm*

942. *Sax. Ann.*

944. *Sax. Ann.*

945. *Sax. Ann.* *Malcolm* King of *Scots*, thereby bound to assist him in his Wars, both by Sea and Land; *Mat. West.* adds that in this action *Edmund* had the aid of *Leolin* Prince of *Northwales*; against *Dunmail* the *Cumbrian* King, him depriving of his Kingdome, and his two Sons of their sight. But the year after he himself by strange accident came to an untimely death, feasting with his Nobles on St. *Austin*'s Day at *Puckekerke* in *Glostershire*, to celebrate the memory of his first converting the *Saxons*. He spi'd *Leof* a noted Theef, whom he had banish'd, sitting among his Guests; whereat transported with too much vehemence of Spirit, though in a just cause, rising from the Table he ran upon the Theef, and catching his hair, pull'd him to the ground. The Theef who doubted from such handling no less than his death intended, thought to die not unreveng'd; and with a short Dagger strook the King, who still laid at him, and little expected such assassination, mortally into the breast. The matter was done in a moment, ere men set at Table could turn them, or imagine at first what the stir meant, till perceaving the King deadly wounded, they flew upon the murderer and hew'd him to peeces; who like a wild Beast at abbay, seeing himself surrounded, desperately laid about him, wounding some in his fall. The King was buried at *Glaston*, whereof *Dunstan* was then Abbot, his Laws yet remain to be seen among the Laws of other *Saxon* Kings.

946. *Sax. Ann.* *Camden.*

Edred.

Edred.

Edred the third Brother of *Athelſtan*, the Sons of *Edmund* being yet but Children, next Reign'd, not degenerating from his worthy Predeceſſors, and Crown'd at *Kingſton*. *Northumberland* he throughly ſubdu'd, the *Scots* without refuſal ſwore him Allegiance; yet the *Northumbrians*, ever of doubtful Faith, ſoon after choſe to themſelves one *Eric* a *Dane*. *Huntingdon* ſtill haunts us with this *Anlaf* (of whom we gladly would have bin ridd) and will have him before *Eric* recall'd once more and reign four years, then again put to his ſhifts. But *Edred* entring into *Northumberland*, and with ſpoils returning, *Eric* the King fell upon his rear. *Edred* turning about, both ſhook off the Enemy, and prepar'd to make a ſecond inroad: which the *Northumbrians* dreading rejected *Eric*, ſlew *Amancus* the Son of *Anlaf*, and with many preſents appeaſing *Edred*, ſubmitted again to his Government; nor from that time had Kings, but were govern'd by Earls, of whom *Oſulf* was the firſt. About this time *Wulſtan* Arch-biſhop of *York*, accus'd to have ſlain certain men of *Thetford*, in revenge of thir Abbot whom the Townſmen had ſlain, was committed by the King to cloſe Cuſtody; but ſoon after enlarg'd, was reſtor'd to his place. *Malmsbury* writes that his Crime was to have conniv'd at the revolt of his Countreymen: But King *Edred* two years

950. *Sim. Dun.*

Hoveden.

953. *Sim. Dun.*

955. years after sick'ning in the flowr of his youth,
Sim. Dun. dy'd much lamented, and was buried at *Winchester*.

Edwi.

Ethelwerd. *EDwi* the Son of *Edmund* now come to Age, after his Uncle *Edred*'s death took on him the Government, and was Crown'd at *Kingston*. His lovely person sirnamed him the Fair, his actions are diversly reported, by *Huntingdon* not thought illaudable. But *Malmsbury* and such as follow him write far otherwise, that he married or kept as Concubine, his
Mat. West. neer Kinswoman, some say both her and her Daughter; so inordinatly giv'n to his pleasure, that on the very day of his Coronation, he abruptly withdrew himself from the Company of his Peers, whether in Banquet or Consultation, to sit wantoning in the Chamber with this *Algiva*, so was her name, who had such power over him. Whereat his Barons offended, sent Bishop *Dunstan*, the boldest among them, to request his return: he going to the Chamber, not only interrupted his dalliance and rebuk'd the Lady, but taking him by the hand, between force and perswasion
956. brought him back to his Nobles. The King highly displeas'd, and instigated perhaps by her who was so prevalent with him, not long after sent *Dunstan* into banishment, caus'd his Monastery to be rifl'd, and became an Enemy to all Monks. Whereupon *Odo* Archbishop

bishop of *Canterbury* pronounc't a separation or divorce of the King from *Algiva*. But that which most incited *William* of *Malmsbury* against him, he gave that Monastery to be dwelt in by Secular Priests, or, to use his own phrase, made it a Stable of Clerks; at length these affronts done to the Church were so resented by the People, that the *Mercians* and *Northumbrians* revolted from him, and set up *Edgar* his Brother, leaving to *Edwi* the *West-Saxons* only, bounded by the River *Thames*; with grief whereof, as is thought, he soon after ended his dayes, and was buried at *Winchester*. Mean while *Elfsin* Bishop of that place after the death of *Odo*, ascending by Simony to the Chair of *Canterbury*, and going to *Rome* the same year for his Pall, was frozen to death in the *Alps*.

Hoved. 957. *Sax. An.* 958. *Mat. West.*

Edgar.

Edgar by his Brothers death now King of all *England* at sixteen years of Age, called home *Dunstan* out of *Flanders*, where he liv'd in Exile. This King had no Warr all his Reign; yet alwayes well prepar'd for Warr, govern'd the Kingdom in great Peace, Honour, and Prosperity, gaining thence the Sirname of Peaceable, much extoll'd for Justice, Clemency, and all Kingly Vertues, the more, ye may be sure, by Monks, for his building so many Monasteries; as some write, every year one: for he much favour'd the

959. *Malmsb.* *Mat. West.*

Monks against Secular Priests, who in the time of *Edwi* had got possession in most of thir Covents. His care and wisdome was great in guarding the Coast round with stout Ships, to the number of three thousand six hundred, *Mat. West.* reck'ns them four thousand eight hundred, divided into four Squadrons, to sail to and fro about the four quarters of the Land, meeting each other; the first of one thousand two hundred sail from East to West, the second of as many from West to East, the third and fourth between North and South, himself in the Summer time with his Fleet. Thus he kept out wisely the force of Strangers, and prevented Forein War; but by thir too frequent resort hither in time of Peace, and his too much favouring them, he let in thir Vices unaware. Thence the People, saith *Malmsbury*, learnt of the Out-landish *Saxons* rudeness, of the *Flemish* daintiness and softness; of the *Danes* drunk'ness; though I doubt these Vices are as naturally home-bred heer as in any of those Countries. Yet in the Winter and Spring-time he usually rode the Circuit as a Judge Itinerant through all his Provinces, to see Justice well administerd, and the poor not oppress'd. Theeves and Robbers he routed almost out of the Land, and wild Beasts of prey altogether; enjoining *Lhiwal* King of *Wales* to pay the yearly Tribute of three hundred Wolves, which he did for two years together, till the third year no more were to be found, nor ever after; but his Laws may be read yet extant. Whatever was

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the cause he was not Crown'd till the 30th of his Age, but then with great splendour and magnificence at the City of *Bath*, in the Feast of *Pentecost*. This year dy'd *Swarling* a Monk of *Croyland*, in the 142 year of his Age, and another soon after him in the 115th in that Fenny and watrish Air, the more remarkable. King *Edgar* the next year went to *Chester*, and summoning to his Court there all the Kings that held of him, took Homage of them: thir names are *Kened* King of *Scots*, *Malcolm* of *Cumberland*, *Maccuse* of the Iles, five of *Wales*, *Dufwal*, *Hiwal*, *Grifith*, *Jacob*, *Judethil*, these he had in such aw, that going one day into a Gally, he caus'd them to take each man his Oar, and row him down the River *Dee*, while he himself sat at the Stern: which might be done in meriment and easily obey'd; if with a serious brow, discover'd rather vain glory, and insulting haughtiness, than moderation of mind. And that he did it seriously tryumphing, appears by his words then utter'd, That his Successors might then glory to be Kings of *England*, when they had such Honour done them. And perhaps the Divine Power was displeas'd with him for taking too much Honour to himself; since we read that the year following he was tak'n out of this life by sickness in the heighth of his Glory and the prime of his Age, buried at *Glaston* Abby. The same year, as *Mat. West.* relates, he gave to *Kened* the *Scottish* King, many rich presents, and the whole Countrey of *Laudian*, or *Lothien*, to hold of him on condition that he and his Suc-

973. *Sax. An. Ingulf.*

974. *Sax. Ann.*

975.

ceſſors ſhould repair to the *Engliſh* Court at high Feſtivals when the King ſat Crown'd; gave him alſo many lodging places by the way, which till the days of *Henry* the Second were ſtill held by the Kings of *Scotland*. He was of Stature not tall, of body ſlender, yet ſo well made, that in ſtrength he choſe to contend with ſuch as were thought ſtrongeſt, and diſlik'd nothing more than that they ſhould ſpare him for reſpect or fear to hurt him. *Kened* King of *Scots* then in the Court of *Edgar*, ſitting one day at Table was heard to ſay jeſtingly among his Servants, he wonder'd how ſo many Provinces could be held in ſubjection by ſuch a little dapper man: His words were brought to the King's Ear; he ſends for *Kened* as about ſome private buſineſs, and in talk drawing him forth to a ſecret place, takes from under his garment two Swords which he had brought with him, gave one of them to *Kened*; and now ſaith he, it ſhall be try'd which ought to be the ſubject; for it is ſhamefull for a King to boaſt at Table, and ſhrink in fight. *Kened* much abaſh'd fell preſently at his Feet, and beſought him to pardon what he had ſimply ſpok'n, no way intended to his diſhonour or diſparagement: wherewith the King was ſatisfi'd. *Camden* in his deſcription of *Ireland*, cites a Charter of King *Edgar*, wherein it appears, he had in ſubjection all the Kingdomes of the Iles as far as *Norway*, and had ſubdu'd the greateſt part of *Ireland*, with the City of *Dublin*: but of this other Writers make no mention. In his youth having

ing heard of *Elfrida*, Daughter to *Ordgar* Duke of *Devonshire*, much commended for her Beauty, he sent Earl *Athelwold*, whose loyalty he trusted most, to see her; intending, if she were found such as answer'd report, to demand her in marriage. He at the first view tak'n with her presence, disloyally, as it often happ'ns in such employments, began to sue for himself; and with consent of her Parents obtain'd her. Returning therefore with scarse an ordinary commendation of her Feature, he easily took off the King's mind, soon diverted another way. But the matter coming to light how *Athelwold* had forestall'd the King, and *Elfrida*'s Beauty more and more spok'n of, the King now heated not only with a relapse of Love, but with a deep sense of the abuse, yet dissembling his disturbance, pleasantly told the Earl, what day he meant to come and visit him and his fair Wife. The Earl seemingly assur'd his welcome, but in the mean while acquainting his Wife, earnestly advis'd her to deform her self, what she might, either in dress or otherwise, lest the King, whose amorous inclination was not unknown, should chance to be attracted. She who by this time was not ignorant, how *Athelwold* had step'd between her and the King, against his coming arraies her self richly, useing what ever Art she could devise might render her the more amiable; and it took effect. For the King inflam'd with her love, the more for that he had bin so long defrauded and robbed of her, resolv'd not only to recover his

intercepted right, but to punish the interloper of his destin'd Spouse, and appointing with him as was usual, a day of hunting, drawn aside in a Forest, now call'd *Harewood*, smote him through with a Dart. Some censure this Act as cruel and tyrannical, but consider'd well, it may be judg'd more favourably, and that no man of sensible Spirit, but in his place, without extraordinary perfection, would have done the like: for next to Life what worse Treason could have bin committed against him? It chanc'd that the Earls base Son coming by upon the Fact, the King sternly ask'd him how he lik'd this Game; he submissly answering, that whatsoever pleas'd the King, must not displease him; the King return'd to his wonted temper, took an affection to the Youth, and ever after highly favour'd him, making amends in the Son for what he had done to the Father. *Elfrida* forthwith he took to Wife, who to expiate her former Husbands death, though therin she had no hand, cover'd the place of his bloodshed with a Monastery of Nuns to sing over him. Another fault is laid to his charge, no way excusable, that he took a Virgin *Wilfrida* by force out of the Nunnery, where she was plac'd by her friends to avoid his persuit, and kept her as his Concubine; but liv'd not obstinatly in the offence; for sharply reprov'd by *Dunstan*, he submitted to seven years penance, and for that time to want his Coronation: But why he had it not before, is left unwritt'n. Another story there goes of *Edgar*, fitter for a Novel than a Histo-

ry;

ry; but as I find it in *Malmsbury*, so I relate it. While he was yet unmarried, in his youth he abstain'd not from Women, and coming on a day to *Andover*, caus'd a Duke's Daughter there dwelling, reported rare of Beauty, to be brought to him. The Mother not daring flatly to deny, yet abhorring that her Daughter should be so deflour'd, at fit time of night sent in her attire, one of her waiting Maids; a Maid it seems not unhandsom nor unwitty; who supply'd the place of her young Lady. Night pass'd, the Maid going to rise, but daylight scarce yet appearing, was by the King askt why she made such haste, she answer'd, to do the work which her Lady had set her; at which the King wondring, and with much ado staying her to unfold the riddle, for he took her to be the Duke's Daughter, she falling at his Feet besought him, that since at the command of her Lady she came to his Bed, and was enjoy'd by him, he would be pleas'd in recompence to set her free from the hard service of her Mistress. The King a while standing in a study whether he had best be angry or not, at length turning all to a jest, took the Maid away with him, advanc'd her above her Lady, lov'd her, and accompanied with her only, till he married *Elfrida*. These only are his faults upon Record, rather to be wonder'd how they were so few, and so soon left, he coming at sixteen to the Licence of a Scepter; and that his Vertues were so many and so mature, he dying before the Age wherein Wisdom can in others attain to any ripeness: how-

ever with him dy'd all the *Saxon* Glory. From henceforth nothing is to be heard of but thir decline and ruin under a double Conqueſt, and the cauſes foregoing; which, not to blur or taint the praiſes of thir former Actions and Liberty well defended, ſhall ſtand ſeverally related, and will be more than long enough for another Book.

The End of the Fifth Book.

THE

THE HISTORY OF BRITAIN.

BOOK VI.

Edward the Younger.

Edward the Eldeſt Son of *Edgar* by *Egelfleda* his firſt Wife, the Daughter of Duke *Ordmer*, was according to Right and his Fathers Will, plac'd in the Throne; *Elfrida* his ſecond Wife, and her Faction only repineing, who labour'd to have had her Son *Ethelred*, a Child of ſeven years, preferr'd before him; that ſhe under that pretence might have rul'd all. Mean while Comets were ſeen in Heav'n, portending not Famin only, which follow'd the next year, but the troubl'd State of the whole Realm not long after to enſue. The Troubles begun in

in *Edwin*'s dayes, between Monks and Secular Priests, now reviv'd and drew on either side many of the Nobles into parties. For *Elfere* Duke of the *Mercians*, with many other Peers, corrupted as is said with guifts, drove the Monks out of those Monasteries where *Edgar* had plac'd them, and in thir stead put Secular Priests with thir Wives. But *Ethelwin* Duke of *East-Angles*, with his Brother *Elfwold*, and Earl *Britnoth* oppos'd them, and gathering an Army defended the Abbies of *East-Angles* from such intruders. To appease these Tumults, a Synod was call'd at *Winchester*, and nothing there concluded, a General Council both of Nobles and Prelates, was held at *Calne* in *Wiltshire*, where while the dispute was hot, but chiefly against *Dunstan*, the room wherein they sat fell upon thir heads, killing some, maiming others, *Dunstan* only escaping upon a beam that fell not, and the King absent by reason of his tender Age. This accident quieted the Controversie, and brought both parts to hold with *Dunstan* and the Monks. Mean while the King addicted to a Religious Life, and of a mild Spirit, simply permitted all things to the ambitious will of his Step-mother and her Son *Ethelred*: to whom she displeas'd that the name only of King was wanting, practis'd thenceforth to remove King *Edward* out of the way; which in this manner she brought about. *Edward* on a day wearied with hunting, thirsty and alone, while his attendance follow'd the Dogs, hearing that *Ethelred* and his mother lodg'd at *Corvesgate*

Florent. Sim. Dun.

(*Corfe*

(*Corfe* Castle, saith *Camden*, in the Ile of *Purbeck*) innocently went thether. She with all shew of kindness welcoming him, commanded drink to be brought forth, for it seems he lighted not from his Horse; and while he was drinking, caus'd one of her Servants, privately before instructed, to stab him with a Poignard. The poor Youth who little expected such unkindness there, turning speedily the Reins, fled bleeding; till through loss of blood falling from his Horse, and expiring, yet held with one foot in the Stirrop, he was dragg'd along the way, trac'd by his blood, and buried without honour at *Werham*, having reigned about three years: but the place of his burial not long after grew famous for Miracles. 978.
After which by Duke *Elfer* (who, as *Malmsbury* saith, had a hand in his death) he was Royally enter'd at *Skepton*, or *Shaftsbury*. *Malmsb.*
The murdress *Elfrida* at length repenting spent the residue of her days in sorrow and great penance.

Ethelred.

Ethelred second Son of *Edgar* by *Elfrida* 979.
(for *Edmund* dy'd a Child) his Brother *Malmsb.*
Edward wickedly remov'd, was now next in right to succeed, and accordingly Crown'd at *Kingstone*: reported by some, fair of visage, comly of person, elegant of behaviour; but the event will shew, that with many sluggish *Florent.*
and ignoble Vices he quickly sham'd his out- *Sim. Dun.*
side;

ſide; born and prolong'd a fatal miſchief of the People, and the ruine of his Countrey; whereof he gave early ſigns from his firſt infancy, bewraying the Font and Water while the Biſhop was baptizing him. Whereat *Dunſtan* much troubl'd, for he ſtood by and ſaw it, to them next him broke into theſe words, By God and Gods Mother this Boy will prove a Sluggard. Another thing is writt'n of him in his Childhood, which argu'd no bad nature, that hearing of his Brother *Edward*'s cruel death, he made loud lamentation; but his furious Mother offended therewith, and having no rod at hand, beat him ſo with great Wax Candles, that he hated the ſight of them ever after. *Dunſtan* though unwilling ſet the Crown upon his head; but at the ſame time foretold op'nly, as is reported, the great Evils that were to come upon him and the Land, in avengment of his Brothers innocent blood. *Sim. Dun.* And about the ſame time, one midnight, a 982. Cloud ſomtimes bloody, ſometimes fiery, was *Malmſb.* ſeen over all *England*; and within three years the *Daniſh* Tempeſt, which had long ſurceaſt, revolv'd again upon this Iland. To the more ample relating whereof, the *Daniſh* Hiſtory, at leaſt thir lateſt and diligenteſt Hiſtorian, as neither from the firſt landing of *Danes*, in the Reign of *Weſt-Saxon Birthric*, ſo now again from firſt to laſt, contributes nothing; buſied more than enough to make out the bare names and ſucceſſions of thir uncertain Kings, and thir ſmall actions at home: unleſs out of him I ſhould tranſcribe what he takes, and I better may,

may, from our own Annals; the surer, and the sadder witnesses of thir doings here, not Glorious, as they vainly boast, but most inhumanly Barbarous. For the *Danes* well understanding, that *England* had now a sloathfull King to thir wish, first landing at *Southhampton* from seven great Ships, took the Town, spoiled the Country, and carried away with them great pillage; nor was *Devonshire* and *Cornwall* uninfested on the shoar; Pirats of *Norway* also harried the Coast of *West-Chester*: and to add a worse Calamity, the City of *London* was burnt, casually or not, is not writt'n. It chanc'd four years after, that *Ethelred* besieg'd *Rochester*, some way or other offended by the Bishop therof. *Dunstan* not approving the cause, sent to warn him that he provoke not St *Andrew* the Patron of that City, nor wast his Lands; an old craft of the Clergy to secure thir Church-Lands, by entailing them on some Saint; the King not hark'ning, *Dunstan* on this condition that the seige might be rais'd, sent him a hundred pound, the money was accepted and the seige dissolv'd. *Dunstan* reprehending his avarice, sent him again this word, Because thou hast respected money more than Religion, the evils which I foretold shall the sooner come upon thee; but not in my days, for so God hath spok'n. The next year was Calamitous, bringing strange fluxes upon men, and murren upon Cattel. *Dunstan* the year following dy'd, a strenuous Bishop, zealous without dread of person, and for ought appears, the best of many Ages, if he busied not

Eadmer. *Florent.* *Hoved.* *Sim. Dun.* *Hoved.* 986. *Malmbs.* *Ingulf.* 987. *Malmsb.* 988. *Malmsb.*

not himself too much in secular Affairs. He was Chaplain at first to King *Athelstan*, and *Edmund* who succeeded, much imploy'd in Court Affairs, till envi'd by some who laid many things to his charge, he was by *Edmund* forbidd'n the Court, but by the earnest mediation, saith *Ingulf*, of *Turkitul* the Chancellour, receav'd at length to favour, and made Abbot of *Glaston*, lastly by *Edgar* and the general Vote, Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*. Not long after his death, the *Danes*, arriving in *Devonshire* were met by *Goda* Lieutenant of that Country, and *Strenwold* a valiant Leader, who put back the *Danes*, but with loss of thir own lives. The third year following, under
991. the Conduct of *Justin* and *Guthmund* the Son
Sim. Dun. of *Steytan*, they landed and spoil'd *Ipswich*, fought with *Brithnoth* Duke of the *East-Angles* about *Maldon*, where they slew him; the slaughter else had bin equal on both sides. These and the like depredations on every side the *English* not able to resist, by counsel of *Siric* then Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, and two Dukes, *Ethelward* and *Alfric*; it was thought best for the present to buy that with Silver which they could not gain with thir Iron: and ten thousand pound was paid to the *Danes* for Peace. Which for a while contented; but taught them the ready way how easiest to come by more. The next year but one they took by
993. storm and rifl'd *Bebbanburgh* an ancient City
Sim. Dun. nigh *Durham*: sailing thence into the mouth of *Humber*, they wasted both sides thereof, *Yorkshire* and *Lindsey*, burning and destroying all

all before them. Against these went out three Noblemen, *Fræna*, *Frithegist*, and *Godwin*, but being all *Danes* by the Fathers side, willingly began flight, and forsook thir own Forces betray'd to the Enemy. No less treachery was at Sea; for *Alfric* the Son of *Elfer* Duke of *Mercia*, whom the King for some offence had banish'd, but now recall'd, sent from *London* with a Fleet to surprise the *Danes*, in some place of disadvantage, gave them over-night intelligence thereof, then fled to them himself; which his Fleet, saith *Florent*, perceaveing, persu'd, took the Ship, but miss'd of his person; the *Londoners* by chance grapling with the *East-Angles* made them fewer, saith my Author, by many thousands. Others say, that by this notice of *Alfric*, the *Danes* not only escap'd, but with a great Fleet set upon the *English*, took many of thir Ships, and in tryumph brought them up the *Thames*, intending to beseige *London*: for *Anlaf* King of *Norway*, and *Swane* of *Denmark*, at the head of these, came with ninety four Gallies. The King for this treason of *Alfric*, put out his Sons Eyes; but the *Londoners* both by Land and Water, so valiantly resisted thir beseigers, that they were forc't in one day with great loss to give over. But what they could not on the City, they wreck'd themselves on the Countries round about, wasting with Sword and Fire all *Essex*, *Kent*, and *Sussex*. Thence horsing thir Foot, diffus'd far wider thir outragious incursions, without mercy either to Sex or Age. The slothful King instead of Warlike

Florent. *Hunting.* 994. *Sim. Dun.* *Malmsb.*

like oppoſition in the Field, ſends Embaſſadors to treat about another payment; the Summe promis'd was now 16000; till which paid the *Danes* winter'd at *Southampton*; *Ethelred* inviteing *Anlaf* to come and viſit him at *Andover*: where he was royally entertain'd, ſome ſay baptiz'd, or confirm'd, adopted Son by the King, and diſmiſs'd, with great Preſents, promiſing by Oath to depart, and moleſt the Kingdome no more; which he perform'd, but the Calamity ended not ſo, for after ſome intermiſſion of thir rage for three years, the other Navy of *Danes* ſailing about to the Weſt, enter'd *Severn*, and waſted one while *South-Wales*, then *Cornwall* and *Devonſhire*, till at length they winter'd about *Taviſtoc*. For it were an endleſs work to relate how they wallow'd up and down to every particular place, and to repeat as oft what devaſtations they wrought, what deſolations left behind them, eaſie to be imagin'd. In ſumm, the next year they afflicted *Dorſetſhire*, *Hamſhire*, and the Ile of *Wight*; by the *Engliſh* many reſolutions were tak'n, many Armies rais'd, but either betray'd by the falſhood, or diſcourag'd by the weakneſs of thir Leaders, they were put to rout, or disbanded themſelves. For Souldiers moſt commonly are as thir Commanders, without much odds of valour in one Nation or other, only as they are more or leſs wiſely diſciplin'd and conducted. The following year brought them back upon *Kent*, where they enter'd *Medway*, and beſeig'd *Rocheſter*; but the *Kentiſh* men aſſembling, gave them

Malmsb. *Hunting.* 997. *Sim. Dun.* 998. *Sim. Dun.* 999. *Sim. Dun.*

them a ſharp encounter, yet that ſuffic'd not to hinder them from doing as they had done in other places. Againſt theſe depopulations, the King leavied an Army; but the unskilful Leaders not knowing what to do with it when they had it, did but drive out time, burdening and impoveriſhing the people, conſuming the publick treaſure, and more imboldning the Enemy, than if they had ſat quiet at home. What cauſe mov'd the *Danes* next year to paſs into *Normandy*, is not recorded; but that they return'd thence more outragious than before. Mean while the King, to make ſome diverſion, undertakes an Expedition both by Land and Sea into *Cumberland*, where the *Danes* were moſt planted; there and in the Ile of *Man*, or as *Camden* ſaith, *Angleſey*, imitating his Enemies in ſpoiling and unpeopleing; the *Danes* from *Normandy* arriving in the River *Ex*, laid ſeige to *Exeter*; but the Citizens, as thoſe of *London*, valourouſly defending themſelves, they wreck'd thir anger, as before, on the Villages round about. The Countrey People of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire* aſſembling themſelves at *Penho*, ſhew'd their readineſs, but wanted a head; and beſides, being then but few in number, were eaſily put to flight; the Enemy plundring all at will, with loaded ſpoils paſs'd into the Ile of *Wight*; from whence all *Dorſetſhire*, and *Hamſhire*, felt again their fury. The *Saxon* Annals write, that before thir coming to *Exeter*, the *Hamſhire* men had a bickering with them, wherin *Ethelward* the King's General was ſlain, adding

1000. *Sim. Dun.*

1001. *Sim. Dun.*

1002. other things hardly to be understood, and in
Sim. Dun. one ancient Copy; so end. *Ethelred*, whom no adversity could awake from his soft and sluggish life, still coming by the worse at fighting, by the advice of his Peers not unlike himself, sends one of his gay Courtiers, though looking loftily, to stoop basely and propose a third tribute to the *Danes*: they willingly hark'n, but the summ is enhaunc't now to twenty four thousand Pound, and paid; the *Danes* thereupon abstaining from hostility. But the King to strengthen his House by some Potent Affinity, marries *Emma*, whom the *Saxons* call *Elgiva*, Daughter of *Richard* Duke of
Malmsb. *Normandy*. With him *Ethelred* formerly had
War or no good correspondence, as appears
Calvisius. by a Letter of Pope *John* the 15th, who made peace between them about eleaven years before; puft up now with his suppos'd access of
Florent. strength by this Affinity, he caus'd the *Danes*
Hunting. all over *England*, though now living peaceably, in one day perfidiously to be massacherd, both Men, Woemen and Children; sending private Letters to every Town and Citty, wherby they might be ready all at the same hour; which till the appointed time (being
Calvisius. the 9th of *July*) was conceal'd with great silence, and perform'd with much unanimity; so generally hated were the *Danes*. *Mat. Westm.* writes, that this Execution upon the *Danes* was ten years after; that *Huna* one of *Ethelred*'s Chief Captains, complaining of the *Danish* Insolencies in time of Peace, thir Pride, thir ravishing of Matrons and Virgins, incited

the

the King to this Maſſacher, which in the madneſs of Rage made no difference of innocent or nocent. Among theſe, *Gunhildis* the Siſter of *Swane* was not ſpar'd, though much deſerving not pitty only, but all protection: ſhe with her Husband Earl *Palingus*, coming to live in *England*, and receaving Chriſtianity, had her Husband and young Son ſlain before her face, her ſelf then beheaded; foretelling and denouncing that her blood would coſt *England* dear. Some ſay this was done by the Traytor *Edric*, to whoſe cuſtody ſhe was committed; but the Maſſacher was ſom years before *Edric*'s advancement; and if it were done by him afterward, it ſeems to contradict the private correſpondence which he was thought to hold with the *Danes*. For *Swane* breathing revenge, haſted the next year into *England*, and by the treaſon or negligence of Count *Hugh*, whom *Emma* had recommended to the Government of *Devonſhire*, ſack'd the City of *Exeter*, her Wall from Eaſt to Weſt-gate, brok'n down: after this waſting *Wiltſhire*, the People of that County, and of *Hamſhire*, came together in great numbers with reſolution ſtoutly to oppoſe him, but *Alfric* thir General, whoſe Sons Eyes the King had lately put out, madly thinking to revenge himſelf on the King, by ruining his own Country, when he ſhould have order'd his Battel, the Enemy being at hand, fain'd himſelf tak'n with a vomiting; wherby his Army in great diſcontent, deſtitute of a Commander, turn'd from the Enemy, who ſtreight took *Wilton* and *Salisbu-*

Mat Weſt.

1003. *Sim. Dun.*

ry, carrying the pillage thereof to his Ships.
1004. Thence the next year landing on the Coast of
Sim. Dun. *Norfolk*, he wasted the Country, and set *Norwich* on fire; *Ulfketel* Duke of the *East-Angles*, a man of great valour, not having space to gather his Forces, after Consultation had, thought it best to make Peace with the *Dane*, which he breaking within three weeks, issued silently out of his Ships, came to *Thetford*, staid there a night, and in the Morning left it flameing. *Ulfketel* hearing this, commanded some to go and break, or burn his Ships; but they not dareing or neglecting, he in the mean while with what secrecie and speed was possible, drawing together his Forces, went out against the Enemy, and gave them a feirce Onset retreating to their Ships; but much inferiour in number, many of the Chief *East-Angles*, there lost thir lives. Nor did the *Danes* come off without great slaughter of thir own; confessing that they never met in *England* with so rough a charge.
1005. The next year, whom Warr could not, a
Sim. Dun. great Famin drove *Swane* out of the Land.
1006. But the Summer following, another great
Sim Dun. Fleet of *Danes* enter'd the Port of *Sandwich*, thence pour'd out over all *Kent* and *Sussex*, made prey of what they found. The King levying an Army out of *Mercia*, and the *West-Saxons*, took on him for once the Manhood to go out and face them; But they who held it safer to live by Rapine, than to hazard a Battel, shifting lightly from place to place, frustrated the slow motions of a heavy Camp,

Camp, following thir wonted Course of robbery, then running to thir Ships. Thus all *Autumn* they wearied out the Kings Army, which gone home to winter, they carried all thir pillage to the Ile of *Wight*, and there ſtaid till *Chriſtmas*; at which time the King being in *Shropſhire*, and but ill imploy'd (for by the procurement of *Edric*, he caus'd, as is thought, *Alfhelm* a Noble Duke, treacherouſly to be ſlain, and the Eyes of his two Sons to be put out) they came forth again, over-running *Hamſhire*, and *Barkſhire*, as far as *Reading* and *Wallingford*: thence to *Aſhdune*, and other places thereabout, neither known nor of tolerable pronunciation; and returning by another way, found many of the People in Arms by the River *Kenet*; but making thir way through, they got ſafe with vaſt booty to thir Ships. The King and his Courtiers wearied out with thir laſt Summers jaunt after the nimble *Danes* to no purpoſe, which by proof they found too toilſome for thir ſoft Bones, more us'd to Beds and Couches, had recourſe to thir laſt and only remedy, their Cofers; and ſend now the fourth time to buy a diſhonourable peace, every time ſtill dearer, not to be had now under thirty ſix thouſand Pound (for the *Danes* knew how to milk ſuch eaſie Kine) in name of Tribute and expences: which out of the People over all *England*, already half begger'd, was extorted and paid. About the ſame time *Ethelred* advanc'd *Edric*, ſurnam'd *Streon*, from obſcure condition to be Duke of *Mercia*, and marry *Edgitha* the King's Daughter.

Florent.

1007. *Sim. Dun.*

ter. The cause of his advancement, *Florent of Worster*, and *Mat. West.* attribute to his great wealth, gott'n by fine policies and a plausible tongue: he prov'd a main accessory to the ruin of *England*, as his actions will soon declare. *Ethelred* the next year somewhat rowsing himself, ordain'd that every three hundred and ten Hides (a Hide is so much Land as one Plow can sufficiently Till) should set out a Ship or Gally, and every nine Hides find a Corslet and Head-piece: new Ships in every Port were builded, vittl'd, fraught with stout Mariners and Souldiers, and appointed to meet all at *Sandwich*. A man might now think that all would go well; when suddenly a new mischief sprung up, dissention among the great ones; which brought all this diligence to as little success as at other times before. *Bithric* the Brother of *Edric*, falsly accus'd *Wulnoth* a great Officer set over the *South-Saxons*, who fearing the potency of his Enemies, with twenty Ships got to Sea, and practis'd piracy on the Coast. Against whom, reported to be in a place where he might be easily surpris'd, *Bithric* sets forth with eighty Ships; all which driv'n back by a Tempest and wrackt upon the shoar, were burnt soon after by *Wulnoth*. Disheart'nd with this misfortune, the King returns to *London*; the rest of his Navy after him; and all this great preparation to nothing. Whereupon *Turkill*, a *Danish* Earl, came with a Navy to the Ile of *Tanet*, and in *August* a far greater, led by *Heming* and *Ilaf* joyn'd with him. Thence coasting to *Sandwich*,

1008. *Sim. Dun.*

1009. *Sim. Dun.*

Sandwich, and landed, they went onward and began to assault *Canterbury*, but the Citizens and East *Kentish* men, coming to composition with them for three thousand Pound, they departed thence to the Ile of *Wight*, robbing and burning by the way. Against these the King levies an Army through all the Land, and in several quarters places them nigh the Sea, but so unskillfully or unsuccessfully, that the *Danes* were not thereby hinderd from exercising thir wonted Robberies. It happ'nd that the *Danes* one day were gone up into the Country, far from thir Ships, the King having notice thereof, thought to intercept them in thir return; his men were resolute to overcome or die, time and place advantagious; but where courage and fortune was not wanting, there wanted Loyalty among them. *Edric* with suttle arguments that had a shew of deep policy, disputed and perswaded the simplicity of his Fellow Counsellors, that it would be best consulted at that time to let the *Danes* pass without ambush or interception. The *Danes* where they expected danger, finding none, pass'd on with great joy and booty to thir Ships. After this, sailing about *Kent*, they lay that Winter in the *Thames*, forcing *Kent* and *Essex* to Contribution, oft-times attempting the City of *London*, but repuls't as oft to thir great loss. Spring begun, leaving thir Ships, they pass'd through *Chiltern* Wood into *Oxfordshire*, burnt the City, and thence returning with divided Forces wasted on both sides the *Thames*; but hearing, that an Army 1010. *Sim. Dun.* *Florent.*

from *London* was marcht out againſt them, they on the North-ſide, paſſing the River at *Staines*, join'd with them on the South into one body, and, enrich't with great ſpoils, came back through *Surrey* to thir Ships; which all the Lent-time they repair'd. After *Eaſter*, ſailing to the *Eaſt-Angles* they arriv'd at *Ipſwich*, and came to a place call'd *Ringmere*, where they heard that *Ulfketel* with his Forces lay, who with a ſharp encounter ſoon entertain'd them; but his men at length giving back, through the ſuttlety of a *Daniſh* Servant among them who began the flight, loſt the field, though the Men of *Cambridgeſhire* ſtood to it valiantly. In this Battel *Ethelſtan* the King's Son in Law, with many other Noblemen, was ſlain; whereby the *Danes* without more reſiſtance, three months together had the ſpoiling of thoſe Countries and all the Fenns, burnt *Thetford* and *Grantbrig*, or *Cambridge*; thence to a hilly place not far off, called by *Huntingdon Baleſham*, by *Camden Gogmagog* Hills, and the Villages therabout they turn'd thir fury, ſlaying all they met ſave one man, who getting up into a Steeple, is ſaid to have defended himſelf againſt the whole *Daniſh* Army. They therefore ſo leaving him, thir Foot by Sea, thir Horſe by Land through *Eſſex*, return'd back lad'n to thir Ships left in the *Thames*. But many dayes paſs'd not between, when ſallying again out of thir Ships as out of Savage Denns, they plunder'd over again all *Oxfordſhire*, and added to thir prey *Buckingham*, *Bedford*, and *Hertfordſhire*; then like

Hunting.

like wild Beasts glutted, returning to thir Caves. A third excursion they made into *Northamptonshire*, burnt *Northampton*, ransacking the Country round; then as to fresh pasture betook them to the *West-Saxons*, and in like sort harrasing all *Wiltshire*, return'd, as I said before, like wild Beasts, or rather Sea-Monsters to thir Water-stables, accomplishing by *Christmas* the Circuit of thir whole years good Deeds; an unjust and inhumane Nation, who receaving or not receaving tribute where none was owing them, made such destruction of mankind, and rapine of their lively-hood, as is a misery to read. Yet here they ceas'd not, for the next year repeating the same Cruelties on both sides the *Thames*, one way as far as *Huntingdon*, the other as far as *Wiltshire* and *Southampton*, sollicited again by the King for Peace, and receaving thir demands both of Tribute and Contribution, they slighted thir Faith; and in the beginning of *September* laid seige to *Canterbury*. On the 20th day, by the treachery of *Almere* the Archdeacon, they took part of it and burnt it, committing all sorts of massacher as a sport: some they threw over the wall, others into the fire, hung some by the privy members, Infants pulled from thir Mothers breasts, were either tost on Spears, or Carts drawn over them; Matrons and Virgins by the hair drag'd and ravish't. *Alfage* the grave Arch-bishop, above others hated of the *Danes*, as in all Counsells and Actions to his might thir known opposer, tak'n, wounded, imprison'd in a noisom Ship; the

1011. *Sim. Dun.*

Eadmer. *Malmsb.* *Eadmer.*

the multitude are tith'd, and every tenth only
1012. spar'd. Early the next year before *Easter*,
Sim. Dun. while *Ethelred* and his Peers were assembl'd
at *London*, to raise now the fifth Tribute a-
mounting to forty eight thousand pound, the
Eadmer: *Danes* at *Canterbury* propose to the Arch-bi-
shop, who had bin now seav'n months thir
Prisoner, life and liberty, if he pay them three
thousand pound; which he refuseing as not
able of himself, and not willing to extort it
from his Tennants, is permitted till the next
Sunday to consider; then hal'd before their
Council, of whom *Turkill* was Chief, and still
refuseing, they rise most of them being drunk,
and beat him with the blunt side of thir Axes,
then thrust forth deliver him to be pelted with
stones; till one *Thrum* a converted *Dane*, pit-
tying him half dead, to put him out of pain;
with a pious impiety, at one stroke of his Axe
on the head dispatch'd him. His Body was
carried to *London*, and there buried, thence
afterward remov'd to *Canterbury*. By this time
the Tribute paid and peace so oft'n violated
sworn again by the *Danes*, they dispers'd thir
Fleet; forty five of them, and *Turkill* thir
Chief staid at *London* with the King, swore
him Allegeance to defend his Land against all
Strangers, on condition only to be fed and
cloath'd by him. But this voluntary friend-
ship of *Turkill* was thought to be deceitfull,
that staying under this pretence he gave intel-
ligence to *Swane*, when it would be most sea-
sonable to come. In *July* therfore of the next
1013. *Sim. Dun.* year, King *Swane* arriving at *Sandwich*, made

no

no ſtay there, but ſailing firſt to *Humber*, thence into *Trent*, landing and encamp'd at *Gainſburrow*: whither without delay repair'd to him the *Northumbrians*, with *Uthred* thir Earl; thoſe of *Lindſey* alſo, then thoſe of *Fiſsburg*, and laſtly all on the North of *Watling-ſtreet* (which is a high way from Eaſt to Weſt Sea) gave Oath and Hoſtages to obey him. From whom he commanded Horſes and Proviſion for his Army, taking with him beſides Bands and Companies of thir Choiceſt Men; and committing to his Son *Canute* the care of his Fleet and Hoſtages; he marches towards the *South Mercians*, commanding his Souldiers to exerciſe all Acts of Hoſtility; with the terrour whereof fully executed, he took in few dayes the City of *Oxford*, then *Wincheſter*; thence tending to *London*, in his haſty paſſage over the *Thames*, without ſeeking Bridge or Ford, loſt many of his men. Nor was his Expedition againſt *London* proſperous; for aſſaying all means by force or wile to take the City, wherin the King then was, and *Turkill* with his *Danes*, he was ſtoutly beat'n off as at other times. Thence back to *Wallingford* and *Bath*, directing his courſe, after uſual havock made, he ſate a while and refreſh'd his Army. There *Ethelm* an Earl of *Devonſhire*, and other great Officers in the Weſt yielded him ſubjection. Theſe things flowing to his wiſh, he betook him to his Navy, from that time ſtil'd and accounted King of *England*, if a Tyrant, ſaith *Simeon*, may be call'd a King. The *Londoners* alſo ſent him Hoſtages, and made

made thir Peace, for they fear'd his Fury. *Ethelred* thus reduc't to narrow compass, sent *Emma* his Queen, with his two Sons had by her, and all his Treasure to *Richard* the II. her Brother, Duke of *Normandy*; himself with the *Danish* Fleet abode some while at *Greenwich*, then sailing to the Ile of *Wight*, pass'd after *Christmas* into *Normandy*; where he was honourably receav'd at *Roan* by the Duke, though known to have born himself churlishly and proudly towards *Emma* his Sister, besides his dissolute Company with other Woemen. *Malmsb.* Mean while *Swane* ceas'd not to exact almost insupportable tribute of the People, spoiling them when he listed; besides, the like did *Turkill* at *Greenwich*. The next year beginning, *Swane* sickens and dies; some say terrifi'd and smitt'n by an appearing shape of St *Edmund* arm'd, whose Church at *Bury* he had threat'nd to demolish; but the Authority hereof relies only upon the Legend of St *Edmund*. After his death the *Danish* Army and Fleet made his Son *Conute* thir King; but the Nobility and States of *England* sent Messengers to *Ethelred*, declareing that they preferr'd none before thir Native Sovran, if he would promise to govern them better than he had done, and with more Clemency. Wherat the King rejoicing, sends over his Son *Edward* with Embassadors to Court both high and low, and win thir Love, promising largly to be thir mild and devoted Lord, to consent in all things to thir will, follow thir counsel, and whatever had been done or spok'n by any man against

1014. *Sim. Dun.* *Mat. West.*

againſt him freely to pardon; if they would loyally reſtore him to be thir King. To this the People cheerfully anſwer'd, and Amity was both promis'd and confirm'd on both ſides. An Embaſſey of Lords is ſent to bring back the King honourably; he returns in *Lent* and is joyfully receav'd of the people, marches with a ſtrong Army againſt *Canute*; who having got Horſes, and joyn'd with the men of *Lindſey*, was preparing to make ſpoil in the Countries adjoyning; but by *Ethelred* unexpectedly coming upon him, was ſoon driv'n to his Ships, and his Confederates of *Lindſey* left to the anger of thir Country-men, executed without mercy both by Fire and Sword. *Canute* in all haſt ſailing back to *Sandwich*, took the Hoſtages giv'n to his Father from all parts of *England*, and with ſlit Noſes, Ears cropt, and Hands chop't off, ſetting them aſhore, departed into *Denmark*. Yet the People were not disburd'nd, for the King rais'd out of them thirty thouſand pound to pay his Fleet of *Danes* at *Greenwich*. To theſe Evils the Sea in *October* paſs'd his bounds, overwhelming many Towns in *England*, and of thir Inhabitants many thouſands. The year following, an Aſſembly being at *Oxford*, *Edric* of *Streon*, having invited two Noblemen, *Sigeferth* and *Morcar*, the Sons of *Earngrun* of *Seav'nburg* to his Lodging, ſecretly murder'd them: the King, for what cauſe is unknown, ſeis'd thir Eſtates, and caus'd *Algith* the Wife of *Sigeferth* to be kept at *Maidulfsburg*, now *Malmsbury*; whom *Edmund* the Prince there married

1015. *Sim. Dun.*

againſt

against his Fathers minde, then went and poſſeſs'd thir Lands, making the People there ſubject to him. *Mat. Weſt.* ſaith, that theſe two were of the *Danes* who had ſeated themſelves in *Northumberland*, ſlain by *Edric* under colour of Treaſon laid to thir charge. They who attended them without, tumulting at the death of thir Maiſters, were beat'n back; and driv'n into a Church, and defending themſelves were burnt there in the Steeple. Mean while *Canute* returning from *Denmark* with a great Navy, two hundred Ships richly gilded and adorn'd, well fraught with Arms, and all Proviſion; and, which *Encomium Emmæ* mentions not, two other Kings, *Lachman* of *Sweden*, *Olav* of *Norway*, arriv'd at *Sandwich*; and as the ſame Author then living writes, ſent out ſpies to diſcover what reſiſtance on Land was to be expected; who return'd with certain report, that a great Army of *Engliſh* was in readineſs to oppoſe them. *Turkill*, whoupon the arrival of thoſe *Daniſh* Powers, kept faith no longer with the *Engliſh*, but joyning now with *Canute*, as it were to reingratiate himſelf after his revolt, whether real or complotted, counſell'd him (being yet young) not to land, but leave to him the management of this firſt Battel; the King aſſented, and he with the Forces which he had brought, and part of thoſe which arriv'd with *Canute*, landing to thir wiſh encounter'd the *Engliſh*, though double in number, at a place call'd *Scorafian*, and was at firſt beaten back with much loſs. But at length animating his Men with Rage only

Malmsb.

Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. deduct. Norman.

Encom. Em.

only and Deſpair, obtain'd a clear Victory, which won him great reward and poſſeſſions from *Canute*. But of this Action no other writer makes mention: from *Sandwich* therfore ſailing about to the River *Frome*, and there landing over all *Dorſet*, *Summerſet*, and *Wiltſhire*, he ſpread waſtfull Hoſtility. The King lay then ſick at *Coſham* in this County; though it may ſeem ſtrange how he could lie ſick there in the midſt of his Enemies. Howbeit *Edmund* in one part, and *Edric* of *Streon* in another, rais'd Forces by themſelves; but ſo ſoon as both Armies were united, the Traytor *Edric* being found to practice againſt the Life of *Edmund*, he remov'd with his Army from him; whereof the Enemy took great advantage. *Edric* eaſily enticeing the forty Ships of *Danes* to ſide with him, revolted to *Canute*, the *Weſt-Saxons* alſo gave pledges and furniſhed him with Horſes. By which means the year enſuing, he with *Edric* the Traytor, paſſing the *Thames* at *Creclad*, about twelftide, enter'd into *Mercia*, and eſpically *Warwickſhire*, depopulating all places in thir way. Againſt theſe, Prince *Edmund*, for his hardineſs call'd *Ironſide*, gather'd an Army; but the *Mercians* refus'd to fight unleſs *Ethelred* with the *Londoners* came to aid them; and ſo every man return'd home. After the Feſtival, *Edmund* gathering another Army, beſought his Father to come with the *Londoners*, and what force beſides he was able; they came with great ſtrength gott'n together, but being come, and in a hopefull way of good ſucceſs, it

Camden.

1016.

Sim. Dun.

it was told the King, that unless he took the better heed, some of his own Forces would fall off and betray him. The King daunted with this perhaps cunning whisper of the Enemy, disbanded his Army, returns to *London*. *Edmund* betook him into *Northumberland*, as some thought to raise fresh Forces; but he with Earl *Uthred* on the one side, and *Canute* with *Edric* on the other, did little else but wast the Provinces; *Canute* to Conquer them, *Edmund* to punish them who stood neuter; for which cause *Stafford*, *Shropshire*, and *Lestershire*, felt heavily his hand; while *Canute*, who was ruineing the more Southern Shires, at length march'd into *Northumberland*; which *Edmund* hearing dismiss'd his Forces, and came to *London*. *Uthred* the Earl hasted back to *Northumberland*, and finding no other remedy, submitted himself with all the *Northumbrians*, giving hostages to *Canute*. Nevertheless by his command or connivence, and the hand of one *Turebrand* a *Danish* Lord; *Uthred* was slain, and *Iric* another *Dane* made Earl in his stead. This *Uthred* Son of *Walteof*, as *Simeon* writes, in his Treatise of the Seige of *Durham*, in his youth obtain'd a great Victory against *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*, who with the whole Power of his Kingdome was fall'n into *Northumberland*, and laid seige to *Durham*. *Walteof* the old Earl unable to resist, had secur'd himself in *Bebbanburg*, a strong Town, but *Uthred* gathering an Army rais'd the Seige, slew most of the *Scots*, thir King narrowly escaping, and with the heads of

of thir ſlain fixt upon Poles beſet round the Walls of *Durham*. The year of this exploit *Simeon* cleers not, for in 969, and in the Reign of *Ethelred* as he affirms, it could not be. *Canute* by another way returning Southward, joyfull of his ſucceſs, before *Eaſter* came back with all the Army to his Fleet. About the end of *April* enſueing, *Ethelred* after a long, troubleſome, and ill govern'd Reign, ended his days at *London*, and was buried in the Church of St *Paul*.

Edmund Ironſide.

AFter the deceaſe of *Ethelred*, they of the Nobility who were then at *London*, together with the Citizens, choſe *Edmund* his Son (not by *Emma*, but a fomer Wife the Daughter of Earl *Thored*) in his Fathers room; but the Arch-biſhops, Abbots, and many of the Nobles aſſembling together elected *Canute*; and coming to *Southampton* where he then remain'd, renounc'd before him all the Race of *Ethelred*, and ſwore him fidelity: he alſo ſwore to them, In matters both Religious and Secular, to be thir faithfull Lord. But *Edmund* with all ſpeed going to the *Weſt-Saxons*, was joyfully receav'd of them as thir King, and of many other Provinces by thir example. Mean while *Canute* about mid *May* came with his whole Fleet up the River to *London*; then cauſing a great Dike to be made on *Surrey* ſide, turn'd the ſtream and drew his

Florent. *Aelred* in the life of *Ed. Conf.*

Florent. *Sim. Dun.*

Ships thether West of the Bridge; then begirting the City with a broad and deep trench, assail'd it on every side; but repulst as before by the valourous Defendants, and in despair of success at that time, leaving part of his Army for the defence of his Ships, with the rest sped him to the *West-Saxons*, e're *Edmund* could have time to assemble all his Powers: who yet with such as were at hand invoking Divine Aid, encounter'd the *Danes* at *Pen* by *Gillingham* in *Dorsetshire*, and put him to flight. After Mid-summer, encreast with new Forces, he met with him again at a place call'd *Sheraston*, now *Sharston*; but *Edric*, *Almar*, and *Algar*, with the *Hampshire* and *Wiltshire* Men, then siding with the *Danes*, he only maintain'd the fight, obstinately fought on both sides, till night and weariness parted them. Day light returning renu'd the Conflict; wherein the *Danes* appearing inferiour, *Edric* to disheart'n the *English* cuts off the Head of one *Osmer*, in countnance and hair somewhat resembling the King, and holding it up, cries aloud to the *English*, that *Edmund* being slain and this his Head, it was time for them to flie; which fallacy *Edmund* perceaving, and op'nly shewing himself to his Souldiers, by a Spear thrown at *Edric*, that missing him, yet slew one next him, and through him another behinde, they recover'd heart, and lay sore upon the *Danes* till night parted them as before: for e're the third morn, *Canute* sensible of his loss, march'd away by stealth to his Ships at *London*, renuing there his

Malms.

Leagre.

Leagre. Some would have this Battel at *Sheraſtan* the ſame with that at *Scoraſtan* before mention'd, but the circumſtance of time permits not that, having bin before the landing of *Canute*, this a good while after, as by the Proceſs of things appears: from *Sheraſtan* or *Sharſtan*, *Edmund* return'd to the *Weſt-Saxons*, whoſe Valour *Edric* fearing, leſt it might prevail againſt the *Danes*, ſought pardon of his Revolt, and obtaining it ſwore Loyalty to the King, who now the third time coming with an Army from the *Weſt-Saxons* to *London*, rais'd the Seige, chaſeing *Canute* and his *Danes* to thir Ships. Then after two dayes paſſing the *Thames* at *Branford*, and ſo coming on thir backs, kept them ſo turn'd, and obtain'd the Victory: then returns again to his *Weſt-Saxons*, and *Canute* to his Siege, but ſtill in vain; riſing therefore thence, he enter'd with his Ships a River then call'd *Arenne*; and from the Banks therof waſted *Mercia*; thence thir Horſe by Land, thir Foot by Ship came to *Medway*. *Edmund* in the mean while with multipli'd Forces out of many Shires, croſſing again at *Branford*, came into *Kent*, ſeeking *Canute*; encounter'd him at *Otford*, and ſo defeated, that of his Horſe, they who eſcap'd fled to the Ile of *Sheppey*; and a full Victory he had gain'd, had not *Edric* ſtill the Traytor by ſome wile or other detain'd his perſuit: and *Edmund* who never wanted courage, here wanted prudence to be ſo miſ-led, ever after forſak'n of his wonted Fortune. *Canute* croſſing with his Army into

Essex, thence wasted *Mercia* worse than before, and with heavy prey return'd to his Ships: them *Edmund* with a collected Army persueing, overtook at a place call'd *Assandune*, or *Assheshill*, now *Ashdown* in *Essex*; the Battel on either side was fought with great vehemence; but perfidious *Edric* perceaving the Victory to incline towards *Edmund*, with that part of the Army which was under him, fled, as he had promis'd *Canute*, and left the King over-match't with numbers: by which desertion the *English* were overthrown, Duke *Alfric*, Duke *Godwin*, and *Ulfketel* the valiant Duke of *East-Angles*, with a great part of the Nobility slain, so as the *English* of a long time had not receav'd a greater blow. Yet after a while *Edmund* not absurdly call'd *Ironside*, preparing to try again his Fortune in another Field, was hinder'd by *Edric* and others of his Faction, adviseing him to make Peace and divide the Kingdome with *Canute*. To which *Edmund* ouer-rul'd, a Treaty appointed, and Pledges mutually giv'n, both Kings met together at a place call'd *Deorhirst* in *Gloustershire*; *Edmund* on the West-side of *Severn*, *Canute* on the East with thir Armies, then both in person wafted into an Iland, at that time call'd *Olanege*, now *Alney* in the midst of the River; swearing Amity and Brother-hood, they parted the Kingdome between them. Then interchanging Armes and the habit they wore, assessing also what pay should be allotted to the Navy; they departed each his way. Concerning this interview, and the cause therof,

Camden. *Camden.* *Camden.*

therof, others write otherwiſe; *Malmsbury*, that *Edmund* grieving at the loſs of ſo much blood ſpilt for the ambition only of two men ſtriveing who ſhould Reign, of his own accord ſent to *Canute*, offering him ſingle Combate, to prevent in thir own Cauſe the effuſion of more blood than thir own; that *Canute* though of courage anough, yet not unwiſely doubting to adventure his body of ſmall Timber, againſt a man of Iron ſides, refus'd the Combate, offring to divide the Kingdome; this offer pleaſing both Armies, *Edmund* was not difficult to conſent; and the deciſion was, that he as his Hereditary Kingdome ſhould Rule the *Weſt-Saxons*, and all the *South*, *Canute* the *Mercians*, and the *North*. *Huntingdon* follow'd by *Mat. Weſt.* relates, That the Peers on every ſide wearied out with continual Warfare, and not refraining to affirm op'nly, that they two who expected to Reign ſingly, had moſt reaſon to fight ſingly, the Kings were content; the Iland was thir Liſts, the Combate Knightly; till *Knute* finding himſelf too weak, began to parle, which ended as is ſaid before. After which the *Londoners* bought thir Peace of the *Danes*, and permitted them to winter in the City. But King *Edmund* about the feaſt of St *Andrew*, unexpectedly deceas'd at *London*, and was buried neer to *Edgar* his Grand-father at *Glaſton*. The cauſe of his ſo ſudden death is uncertain; common Fame, ſaith *Malmsbury*, laies the guilt therof upon *Edric*, who to pleaſe *Canute*, allur'd with promiſe of Reward two

of the Kings Privy Chamber, though at first abhorring the fact, to assassinate him at the Stool, by thrusting a sharp Iron into his hinder parts. *Huntingdon*, and *Mat. West.* relate it done at *Oxford* by the Son of *Edric*, and something vary in the manner, not worth recital. *Edmund* dead, *Canute* meaning to Reign sole King of *England*, calls to him all the Dukes, Barons, and Bishops of the Land, cunningly demanding of them who were witnesses what agreement was made between him and *Edmund* dividing the Kingdom, whether the Sons and Brothers of *Edmund* were to govern the *West-Saxons* after him, *Canute* living? they who understood his meaning, and fear'd to undergo his anger, timorously answer'd, that *Edmund* they knew had left no part therof to his Sons or Brethern, living or dying; but that he intended *Canute* should be thir Guardian, till they came to age of Reigning. *Simeon* affirms, that for fear or hope of Reward they attested what was not true: notwithstanding which he put many of them to death not long after.

Canute, or *Knute*.

1017. *Sim. Dun. Sax. Ann.* *Canute* having thus founded the Nobility, and by them understood, receav'd thir Oath of fealty, they the pledge of his bare hand, and Oath from the *Danish* Nobles; whereupon the House of *Edmund* was renounc't, and *Canute* Crown'd. Then they enacted,

enacted, that *Edwi* Brother of *Edmund*, a Prince of great hope, should be banish't the Realm. But *Canute* not thinking himself secure while *Edwi* liv'd, consulted with *Edric* how to make him away; who told him of one *Ethelward* a decay'd Nobleman, likeliest to do the work. *Ethelward* sent for, and tempted by the King in private, with largest rewards, but abhorring in his mind the deed, promis'd to do it when he saw his opportunity; and so still deferr'd it. But *Edwi* afterwards, receav'd into favour as a snare, was by him or some other of his false friends, *Canute* contriving it, the same year slain. *Edric* also counsel'd him to dispatch *Edward* and *Edmund*, the Sons of *Ironside*; but the King doubting that the Fact would seem too foul done in *England*, sent them to the King of *Sweden*, with like intent; but he disdaining the Office, sent them for better safety to *Solomon* King of *Hungary*; where *Edmund* at length dy'd, but *Edward* married *Agatha* Daughter to *Henry* the *German* Emperour. A digression in the Lawes of *Edward* Confessor under the Title of *Lex Noricorum* saith, that this *Edward* for fear of *Canute*, fled of his own accord to *Malesclot* King of the *Rugians*, who receav'd him honourably, and of that Countrey gave him a Wife. *Canute* settl'd in his Throne, divided the Government of his Kingdom into four parts; the *West-Saxons* to himself, the *East-Angles* to Earl *Turkill*, the *Mercians* to *Edric*, the *Northumbrians* to *Eric*; then made Peace with all Princes round a-

bout him, and his former Wife being dead, in *July* married *Emma* the Widow of King *Ethelred*. The *Christmas* following was an ill Feast to *Edric*, of whose Treason, the King having now made use as much as serv'd his turn, and fearing himself to be the next betray'd, caus'd him to be slain at *London* in the Palace, thrown over the City Wall, and there to lie unburied; the head of *Edric* fixt on a Pole, he commanded to be set on the highest Tower of *London*, as in a double fence he had promis'd him, for the murder of King *Edmund* to exalt him above all the Peers of *England*. *Huntingdon*, *Malmsbury*, and *Mat. West.* write, that suspecting the Kings intention to degrade him from his *Mercian* Dukedome, and upbraiding him with his Merits, the King enrag'd, caus'd him to be strangl'd in the room, and out at a Window thrown into the *Thames*. Another writes, that *Eric* at the Kings command struck off his head. Other great men though without fault, as Duke *Norman* the Son of *Leofwin*, *Ethelward* Son of Duke *Agelmar*, he put to death at the same time, jealous of thir Power or Familiarity with *Edric*: and notwithstanding Peace, kept still his Army; to maintain which, the next year he squees'd out of the *English*, though now his Subjects, not his Enemies, seventy two, some say, eighty two thousand pound, besides fifteen thousand out of *London*. Mean while great Warr arose at *Carr*, between *Uhred* Son of *Waldef*, Earl of *Northumberland*, and *Malcolm* Son of *Kened* King of *Scots*,

Encom. Em. *Ingulf.*

1018.

Sim. Dun. *Hunting.* *Mat. West.*

Scots, with whom held *Eugenius* King of *Lothian*. But heer *Simeon* the relater seems to have committed some mistake, having slain *Uthred* by *Canute* two years before, and set *Eric* in his place: *Eric* therfore it must needs be, not *Uthred*, who manag'd this Warr against the *Scots*. About which time in a Convention of *Danes* at *Oxford*, it was agreed on both Parties to keep the Laws of *Edgar*; *Mat. West.* saith, of *Edward* the Elder. The next year *Canute* sail'd into *Denmarke*, and there abode all Winter. *Huntingdon* and *Mat. West.* say, he went thether to repress the *Swedes*, and that the night before a Battel to be fought with them, *Godwin* stealing out of the Camp with his *English*, assaulted the *Swedes*, and had got the Victory ere *Canute* in the morning knew of any fight. For which bold enterprise, though against Discipline, he had the *English* in more esteem ever after. In the Spring at his return into *England*, he held in the time of *Easter* a great Assembly at *Chirchester*, and the same year was with *Turkill* the *Dane* at the Dedication of a Church by them built at *Assendune*, in the place of that great Victory which won him the Crown. But suspecting his Greatness, the year following banish'd him the Realm, and found occasion to do the like by *Eric* the *Northumbrian* Earl upon the same jealousie. Nor yet content with his Conquest of *England*, though now above ten years enjoy'd, he pass'd with fifty Ships into *Norway*, dispossess'd *Olave* their King, and subdu'd the Land, first with great summes

1019. *Sim. Dun.*

1020. *Sim. Dun.*

1021. *Sim. Dun. Malms b.*

1028. *Sim. Dun.*

ſummes of money ſent the year before to gain him a Party, then coming with an Army to
1029. compell the reſt. Thence returning King of
Sim. Dun. *England*, *Denmarke*, and *Norway*, yet not ſecure in his mind, under colour of an Embaſſey he ſent into baniſhment *Hacun* a powerfull *Dane*, who had married the Daughter of his Siſter *Gunildis*, having conceav'd ſome ſuſpicion of his practices againſt him: but ſuch courſe was tak'n, that he never came back; either periſhing at Sea, or ſlain by
1030. contrivance the next year in *Orkney*. *Canute*
Sim. Dun. therefore having thus eſtabliſh't himſelf by
1031. bloodſhed and oppreſſion, to waſh away, as
Sim. Dun. he thought, the guilt thereof, ſailing again into *Denmarke*, went thence to *Rome*, and offer'd there to St. *Peter* great guifts of Gold and Silver, and other precious things; beſides the uſual Tribute of *Romſcot*, giving
Hunting. great Alms by the way, both thether and back again, freeing many places of Cuſtome and Toll with great expence, where ſtrangers were wont to pay, having vow'd great amendment of life at the Sepulchre of *Peter* and *Paul*, and to his whole People in a large
1032. Letter writt'n from *Rome* yet extant. At his
Sim. Dun. return therefore he built and dedicated a Church to St. *Edmund* at *Bury*, whom his Anceſtors had ſlain, threw out the Secular Prieſts who had intruded there, and plac'd Monks in thir ſtead; then going into *Scotland*, ſubdu'd and receav'd homage of *Mal-*
Hunting. *colm*, and two other Kings there, *Melbeath*,
1035. and *Jermare*. Three years after having
Sim. Dun. made

made *Swane* his ſuppos'd Son by *Algiva* of *Northampton*, Duke *Alfhelms* Daughter (for others ſay the Son of a Prieſt whom *Algiva*, barren, had got ready at the time of her feigned labour) King of *Norway*, and *Hardecnute* his Son by *Emma* King of *Denmarke*, and deſign'd *Harold* his Son by *Algiva* of *Northampton* King of *England*, dy'd at *Shaftsbury*, and was buried at *Wincheſter* in the old Monaſtery. *Florent.*

This King, as appears, ended better than he began, for though he ſeems to have had no hand in the death of *Ironſide*, but deteſted the fact, and bringing the murderers, who came to him in hope of great reward, forth among his Courtiers, as it were to receive thanks, after they had op'nly related the manner of thir killing him, deliver'd them to deſerved puniſhment, yet he ſpar'd *Edric* whom he knew to be the prime Authour of that deteſtable fact; till willing to be rid of him, grown importune upon the confidence of his Merits, and upbraided by him that he had firſt relinquiſht, then extinguiſht *Edmund* for his ſake; angry to be ſo upbraided, therfore ſaid he with a chang'd countnance, Traytor to God and to me, thou ſhalt die; thine own mouth accuſes thee to have ſlain thy Maſter my Confederate Brother, and the Lords Anointed. Whereupon although preſent and privat Execution was in rage done upon *Edric*, yet he himſelf in cool blood ſcrupl'd not to make away the Brother and Children of *Edmund*, who had better right to be the Lords Anointed heer than himſelf. When he had *Malmsb.*

obtain'd

obtain'd in *England* what he desir'd, no wonder if he sought the Love of his conquer'd Subjects for the love of his own quiet, the maintainers of his Wealth and State, for his own profit. For the like reason he is thought to have married *Emma*, and that *Richard* Duke of *Normandy* her Brother might the less care what became of *Elfred* and *Edward*, her Sons by King *Ethelred*. He commanded to be observ'd the Ancient *Saxon* Laws, call'd afterwards the Laws of *Edward* the Confessor, not that he made them, but strictly observ'd them. His Letter from *Rome* professes, if he had done aught amiss in his Youth, through negligence or want of due temper, full resolution with the help of God to make amends, by governing justly and piously for the future; charges and adjures all his Officers and Vicounts, that neither for Fear of him, or Favour of any person, or to enrich the King, they suffer injustice to be done in the Land; commands his Treasurers to pay all his Debts ere his return home, which was by *Denmarke*, to compose matters there; and what his Letter profess'd, he perform'd all his life after. But it is a fond conceit in many great Ones, and pernicious in the end, to cease from no violence till they have attain'd the utmost of their ambitions and desires; then to think God appeas'd by their seeking to bribe him with a share however large of their ill-gott'n spoils, and then lastly to grow zealous of doing right, when they have no longer need to do wrong. Howbeit *Canute* was Famous through

through *Europe*, and much honour'd of *Conrade* the Emperour, then at *Rome*, with rich guifts and many grants of what he there demanded for the freeing of paſſages from Toll and Cuſtome. I muſt not omit one remarkable action done by him, as *Huntingdon* reports it, with great Scene of circumſtance, and emphatical expreſſion, to ſhew the ſmall Power of Kings in reſpect of God; which, unleſs to Court-Paraſites, needed no ſuch laborious demonſtration. He caus'd his Royal Seat to be ſet on the ſhoar, while the Tide was coming in; and with all the State that Royalty could put into his countenance, ſaid thus to the Sea: Thou Sea belongſt to me, and the Land wheron I ſit is mine; nor hath any one unpuniſh't reſiſted my Commands: I charge thee come no furder upon my Land, neither preſume to wet the Feet of thy Sovran Lord. But the Sea, as before, came rowling on, and without reverence both wet and daſhed him. Wherat the King quickly riſeing, wiſh'd all about him to behold and conſider the weak and frivolous Power of a King, and that none indeed deſerv'd the name of a King, but he whoſe Eternal Laws both Heav'n, Earth, and Sea obey. A truth ſo evident of it ſelf, as I ſaid before, that unleſs to ſhame his Court Flatterers, who would not elſe be convinc't, *Canute* needed not to have gone wet-ſhod home: The beſt is, from that time forth he never would wear a Crown, eſteeming Earthly Royalty contemptible and vain.

Harold.

Harold.

Florent. *Bromton.* *Hunting.* *Mat. West.* *Mat. West.* *Encom. Em.*

Harold for his swiftness surnam'd *Harefoot*, the Son of *Canute* by *Algiva* of *Northampton* (though some speak doubtfully as if she bore him not, but had him of a Shoomakers Wife, as *Swane* before of a Priest; others of a Maid-Servant, to conceal her barrenness) in a great Assembly at *Oxford*, was by Duke *Leofric* and the *Mercians*, with the *Londoners*, according to his Father's Testament, elected King; but without the Regal Habiliments, which *Ælnot* the Arch-bishop having in his Custody, refus'd to deliver up, but to the Sons of *Emma*, for which *Harold* ever after hated the Clergy; and (as the Clergy are wont thence to inferr) all Religion. *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and the *West-Saxons* with him, stood for *Hardecnute*. *Malmsbury* saith, that the Contest was between *Dane* and *English*; that the *Danes* and *Londoners* grown now in a manner *Danish*, were all for *Hardecnute*; but he being then in *Denmarke*, *Harold* prevail'd, yet so as that the Kingdome should be divided between them; the West and South part reserv'd by *Emma* for *Hardecnute*, till his return. But *Harold* once advanc't into the Throne, banish'd *Emma* his Mother-in-law, seiz'd on his Father's Treasure at *Winchester*, and there remain'd. *Emma* not holding it safe to abide in *Normandy* while Duke *William* the Bastard was yet under Age, retir'd

1036. *Sim. Dun.*

retir'd to *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*. In the mean while *Alfred* and *Edward* Sons of *Ethelred*, accompanied with a small number of *Norman* Souldiers in a few Ships, coming to visit their Mother *Emma* not yet departed the Land, and perhaps to see how the People were inclin'd to restore them their Right; *Elfred* was sent for by the King then at *London*; but in his way met at *Guilford* by Earl *Godwin*, who with all seeming friendship entertain'd him, was in the night surpriz'd and made Prisner, most of his Company put to various sorts of cruel death, decimated twice over, then brought to *London*, was by the King sent bound to *Ely*, had his Eyes put out by the way, and deliver'd to the Monks there, dy'd soon after in thir Custody. *Malmsbury* gives little credit to this Story of *Elfred*, as not Chronicl'd in his time, but rumour'd only. Which *Emma* however hearing, sent away her Son *Edward*, who by good hap accompanied not his Brother, with all speed into *Normandy*. But the Authour of *Encomium Emmæ*, who seems plainly (though nameless) to have been some Monk, yet liv'd, and perhaps wrote within the same year when these things were done; by his relation differing from all others, much aggravates the Cruelty of *Harold*, that he not content to have practis'd in secret (for op'nly he durst not) against the Life of *Emma*, sought many treacherous wayes to get her Son within his Power; and resolv'd at length to forge a Letter in the name of their Mother,

ther, inviting them into *England*, the Copy of which Letter he produces writt'n to this purpose.

EMma *in name only Queen, to her Sons* Edward *and* Alfrid *imparts Motherly Salutation. While we severally bewail the death of our Lord the King, most Dear Sons, and while daily ye are depriv'd more and more of the Kingdom your Inheritance; I admire what Counsel yee take, knowing that your intermitted delay, is a daily strengthning to the Reign of your Usurper, who incessantly goes about from Town to City, gaining the Chief Nobles to his Party, either by Gifts, Prayers, or Threats. But they had much rather one of you should Reign over them, than to be held under the Power of him who now Over-rules them. I entreat therfore that one of you come to me speedily, and privately; to receive from me wholesome Counsel, and to know how the business which I intend shall be accomplisht. By this Messenger present, send back what you determine. Farewell, as dear both as my own Heart.*

These Letters were sent to the Princes then in *Normandy*, by expres Messengers, with Presents also as from their Mother; which they joyfully receiving, return word by the same Messengers, that one of them will be with her shortly; naming both the time and place. *Alfrid* therefore the younger (for so it was thought best) at the appointed time, with a few Ships and small numbers about

about him appearing on the Coast, no sooner came ashore but fell into the snare of Earl *Godwin*, sent on purpose to betray him; as above was related. *Emma* greatly sorrowing for the loss of her Son, thus cruelly made away, fled immediatly with some of the Nobles her faithfullest adherents into *Flanders*, had her dwelling assign'd at *Burges* by the Earl; where having remain'd about two years, she was visited out of *Denmark* by *Hardecnute* her Son; and he not long had remain'd with her there, when *Harold* in *England*, having done nothing the while worth memory, save the Taxing of every Port at eight Marks of Silver to sixteen Ships, dy'd at *London*, some say at *Oxford*, and was buried at *Winchester*. After which, most of the Nobility, both *Danes* and *English* now agreeing, send Embassadors to *Hardecnute* still at *Bruges* with his Mother, entreating him to come and receave as his Right the Scepter, who before Midsomer came with sixty Ships, and many Souldiers out of *Denmark*.

1039. *Sim. Dun. Hunting.*

1040. *Sim. Dun. Malmsb.*

Hardecnute.

Hardecnute receav'd with Acclamation, and seated in the Throne, first call'd to mind the injuries done to him or his Mother *Emma* in the time of *Harold*; sent *Alfric* Arch-bishop of *York*, *Godwin* and others, with *Troud* his Executioner to *London*, commanding them to dig up the body

of King *Harold*, and throw it into a Ditch; but by a ſecond order, into the *Thames*. Whence tak'n up by a Fiſherman, and conveï'd to a Church-yard in *London*, belonging to the *Danes*, it was interr'd again with honour. This done he levied a ſore Tax, that eight Marks to every Rower, and twelve to every Officer in his Fleet ſhould be paid throughout *England*; by which time they who were ſo forward to call him over, had anough of him; for he, as they thought, had too much of theirs. After this he call'd to account *Godwin* Earl of *Kent*, and *Leving* Biſhop of *Worſter*, about the death of *Elfred* his half Brother, which *Alfric* the Arch-biſhop laid to thir charge; the King depriv'd *Leving* of his Biſhoprick, and gave it to his accuſer: but the year following, pacifi'd with a round ſumme reſtor'd it to *Leving*. *Godwin* made his Peace by a ſumptuous Preſent, a gally with a guilded ſtem bravely rigg'd, and eighty Souldiers in her, every one with Bracelets of Gold on each Arm, weighing ſixteen ounces, Helmet, Corſlet, and Hilts of his Swords guilded; a *Daniſh* Curtax liſted with Gold or Silver, hung on his left ſhoulder, a Shield with boſs and nailes guilded in his left hand, in his right a Launce: beſides this, he took his Oath before the King, that neither of his own counſel or will, but by the command of *Harold* he had done what he did, to the putting out of *Elfred*'s Eyes. The like Oath took moſt of the Nobility for themſelves or in his behalf. The next year, *Hardecnute*

Malmsb.

1041. *Sim. Dun.*

decnute ſending his Houſecarles, ſo they call'd his Officers, to gather the Tribute impos'd; two of them rigorous in thir Office, were ſlain at *Worſter* by the People; whereat the King enrag'd, ſent *Leofric* Duke of *Mercia*, and *Seward* of *Northumberland*, with great Forces and Commiſſion to ſlay the Citizens, rifle and burn the City, waſt the whole Province. Affrighted with ſuch news, all the People fled; the Countrymen whither they could, the Cittizens to a ſmall Iland in *Severn*, call'd *Beverege*, which they fortifi'd and defended ſtoutly, till Peace was granted them, and freely to return home. But their City they found ſack't and burnt; wherewith the King was appeas'd. This was commendable in him, however cruel to others, that toward his half Brethren, though Rivals of his Crown, he ſhew'd himſelf alwayes tenderly affection'd; as now towards *Edward*, who without fear came to him out of *Normandy*, and with unfeigned kindneſs receav'd, remain'd ſafely and honourably in his Court. But *Hardecnute* the year following, at a Feaſt where- 1042. *Sim. Dun.*
in *Oſgod* a great *Daniſh* Lord gave his Daughter in Marriage at *Lambeth*, to *Prudon* another Potent *Dane*; in the midſt of his mirth, ſound and healthfull to ſight, while he was drinking fell down ſpeechleſs, and ſo dying, was buried at *Wincheſter* beſide his Father. He was it ſeems a great lover of good chere; ſiting at Table four times a day, with great variety of Diſhes, and ſuperfluity to all Commers. Whereas, ſaith *Huntingdon*, in our

Time Princes in thir Houſes made but one meal a day. He gave his Siſter *Gunildis*, a Virgin of rare Beauty, in marriage to *Henry* the *Alman* Emperour; and to ſend her forth pompouſly, all the Nobility contributed thir Jewels and richeſt Ornaments. But it may ſeem a wonder that our Hiſtorians, if they deſerve that name, ſhould in a matter ſo remarkable, and ſo neer thir own time, ſo much differ. *Huntingdon* relates againſt the credit of all other records, that *Hardecnute* thus dead, the *Engliſh* rejoycing at this unexpected riddance of the *Daniſh* yoke, ſent over to *Elfrid* the Eldeſt Son of *Emma* by King *Ethelred*, of whom we heard but now, that he dy'd Priſner at *Eely*, ſent thether by *Harold* ſix years before; that he came now out of *Normandy*, with a great number of men to receave the Crown; that Earl *Godwin* aiming to have his Daughter Queen of *England* by marrying her to *Edward* a ſimple youth, for he thought *Elfred* of a higher Spirit than to accept her, perſwaded the Nobles that *Elfred* had brought over too many *Normans*, had promis'd them Lands here, that it was not ſafe to ſuffer a Warlike and ſuttle Nation to take root in the Land, that theſe were to be ſo handl'd as none of them might dare for the future to flock hither, upon pretence of relation to the King; thereupon by common conſent of the Nobles, both *Elfred* and his Company were dealt with as was above related; that they then ſent for *Edward* out of *Normandy*, with hoſtages to be left there of

their

their faithfull intentions to make him King, and their desires not to bring over with him many *Normans*; that *Edward* at thir call came then first out of *Normandy*; whereas all others agree that he came voluntarily over to visit *Hardecnute*, as is before said, and was remaining in the Court at the time of his death. For *Hardecnute* dead, saith *Malmsbury*, *Edward* doubting greatly his own safety, determin'd to rely wholly on the advice and favour of Earl *Godwin*, desiring therfore by Messengers to have private speech with him, the Earl a while deliberated: at last assenting, Prince *Edward* came, and would have fall'n at his feet; but that not permitted, told him the danger wherein he thought himself at present, and in great perplexity besought his help to convey him some whither out of the Land. *Godwin* soon apprehending the fair occasion that now as it were prompted him how to advance himself and his Family, cherfully exhorted him to remember himself the Son of *Ethelred*, the Grandchild of *Edgar*, right Heir to the Crown, at full Age; not to think of flying but of reigning, which might easily be brought about, if he would follow his Counsel; then setting forth the Power and Authority which he had in *England*, promis'd it should be all his to set him on his Throne, if he on his part would promise and swear to be for ever his friend, to preserve the honour of his House, and to marry his Daughter. *Edward*, as his necessity then was, consented easily, and swore to

whatever *Godwin* requir'd. An Assembly of States thereupon met *Gillingham*, where *Edward* pleaded his right; and by the powerful influence of *Godwin* was accepted. Others, as *Bromton*, with no probability write, that *Godwin* at this time was fled into *Denmark*, for what he had done to *Elfred*, return'd and submitted himself to *Edward* then King, was by him charg'd openly with the death of *Elfred*, and not without much ado, by the intercession of *Leofric* and other Peers, receav'd at length into favour.

Edward the Confessor.

GLad were the *English* deliver'd so unexpectedly from their *Danish* Masters, and little thought how neer another Conquest was hanging over them. *Edward* the *Easter* following, Crown'd at *Winchester*, the same year accompanied with Earl *Godwin*, *Leofric*, and *Siward*, came again thether on a sudden, and by their Counsel seis'd on the Treasure of his Mother *Emma*. The cause alleg'd is, that she was hard to him in the time of his banishment; and indeed she is said not much to have lov'd *Ethelred* her former Husband, and thereafter the Childern by him; she was moreover noted to be very covetous, hard to the poor, and profuse to Monasteries. About this time also King *Edward*, according to promise, took to Wife *Edith* or *Egith* Earl *Godwin*'s Daughter, commended much for Beauty,

1043. *Sim. Dun.*

Malmsb.

ty, Modesty, and, beyond what is requisite in a Woeman, Learning. *Ingulf* then a youth lodging in the Court with his Father, saw her oft, and coming from the School, was sometimes met by her and pos'd, not in Grammar only, but in Logic. *Edward* the next year but one, made ready a strong Navy at *Sandwich* against *Magnus* King of *Norway*, who threat'nd an Invasion; had not *Swane* King of *Denmark* diverted him by a War at home to defend his own Land, not out of good will to *Edward*, as may be suppos'd, who at the same time express'd none to the *Danes*, banishing *Gunildis* the Neece of *Canute* with her two Sons, and *Osgod* by sirname *Clapa*, out of the Realm. *Swane* overpower'd by *Magnus*, sent the next year to entreat Aid of King *Edward*; *Godwin* gave counsel to send him fifty Ships fraught with Souldiers; but *Leofric* and the general voice gain-saying, none were sent. The next year *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway* sending Embassadors, made Peace with King *Edward*; but an Earthquake at *Worster* and *Darby*, Pestilence and Famine in many places, much less'nd the enjoyment thereof. The next year *Henry* the Emperour displeas'd with *Baldwin* Earl of *Flanders*, had streit'nd him with a great Army by Land; and sending to King *Edward*, desir'd him with his Ships to hinder what he might, his escape by Sea. The King therfore with a great Navy coming to *Sandwich*, there staid till the Emperour came to an agreement with Earl *Baldwin*. Mean

1045. *Sim. Dun.*

1046. *Sim. Dun.*

1047. *Sim. Dun.*

1048. *Sim. Dun.*

1049. *Sim. Dun.*

while *Swane* Son of Earl *Godwin*, who not permitted to marry *Edgiva* the Abbeſs of *Cheſter* by him deflour'd, had left the Land, came out of *Denmark* with eight Ships, feigning a deſire to return into the Kings favour; and *Beorn* his Couſin German, who commanded part of the Kings Navy, promis'd to intercede that his Earldome might be reſtor'd him. *Godwin* therfore and *Beorn* with a few Ships, the reſt of the Fleet gone home, coming to *Pevenſey* (but *Godwin* ſoon departing thence in perſuit of twenty nine *Daniſh* Ships who had got much booty on the Coaſt of *Eſſex*, and periſh'd by tempeſt in their return) *Swane* with his Ships comes to *Beorn* at *Pevenſey*, guilefully requeſts him to ſail with him to *Sandwich*, and reconcile him to the King, as he had promis'd. *Beorn* miſtruſting no evil where he intended good, went with him in his Ship attended by three only of his Servants: but *Swane* ſet upon barbarous cruelty, not reconciliation with the King, took *Beorn* now in his power and bound him; then coming to *Dertmouth*, ſlew and buried him in a deep Ditch. After which, the men of *Haſtings* took ſix of his Ships and brought them to the King at *Sandwich*; with the other two he eſcap'd into *Flanders*, there remaining till *Aldred* Biſhop of *Worſter* by earneſt mediation wrought his Peace with the King. *Mat. Weſt.* About this time King *Edward* ſent to Pope *Leo*, deſiring abſolution from a Vow, which he had made in his younger years, to take a journey to *Rome*, if God vouchſaf'd him to Reign in *England*;

gland; the Pope dispenc'd with his Vow, but not without the expence of his journey giv'n to the poor, and a Monastery built or re-edifi'd to St *Peter*: who in a Vision to a Monk, as is said, chose *Westminster*, which King *Edward* thereupon rebuilding endow'd with large privileges and revennues. The same year, saith *Florent* of *Worster*, certain *Irish* Pirats with thirty six Ships enter'd the mouth of *Severn*, and with the Aid of *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, did some hurt in those parts: then passing the River *Wey*, burnt *Dunedham*, and slew all the Inhabitants they found. Against whom *Aldred* Bishop of *Worster*, with a few out of *Gloster* and *Herefordshire*, went out in hast: but *Griffin* to whom the *Welsh* and *Irish* had privily sent Messengers, came down upon the *English* with his whole power by night, and early in the morning suddenly assaulting them, slew many, and put the rest to flight. The next year but one, King *Edward* remitted the *Danish* Tax, which had continu'd thirty eight years heavy upon the Land since *Ethelred* first paid it to the *Danes*, and what remain'd thereof in his treasury he sent back to the owners: but through imprudence laid the foundation of a far worse mischief to the *English*; while studying gratitude to those *Normans*, who to him in exile had bin helpfull; he call'd them over to public Offices here, whom better he might have repaid out of his private purse; by this means exasperating either Nation one against the other, and making way by degrees to the *Norman* Conquest.

1051. *Sim. Dun.*

Ingulf.

Conqueſt. *Robert* a Monk of that Country, who had bin ſerviceable to him there in time of need, he made Biſhop, firſt of *London*, then of *Canterbury*; *William* his Chaplain Biſhop of *Dorcheſter*. Then began the *Engliſh* to lay aſide their own Ancient Cuſtomes, and in many things to imitate *French* Manners, the great Peers to ſpeak *French* in thir Houſes, in *French* to write thir Bills and Letters, as a great piece of Gentility, aſham'd of thir own: a preſage of thir ſubjection ſhortly to that people, whoſe Faſhions and Language they affected ſo ſlaviſhly: But that which gave beginning to many Troubles enſueing, happ'nd this year, and upon this occaſion. *Euſtace* Earl of *Boloign*, Father of the famous *Godfrey* who won *Jeruſalem* from the *Saracens*, and Husband to *Goda* the King's Siſter, having bin to viſit King *Edward*, and returning by *Canterbury* to take Ship at *Dover*, one of his Harbingers inſolently ſeeking to lodge by Force in a Houſe there, provok'd ſo the Maſter thereof, as by chance or heat of anger to kill him. The Count with his whole Train going to the Houſe where his Servant had bin kill'd, ſlew both the ſlayer and eighteen more who defended him. But the Townſmen running to Arms, requited him with the ſlaughter of twenty one more of his Servants, wounded moſt of the reſt; he himſelf with one or two hardly eſcaping; ran back with clamour to the King; whom ſeconded by other *Norman* Courtiers, he ſtirr'd up to great anger againſt the Cittizens of *Canterbury*.

Ingulf.

Malmsb.

Earl

Earl *Godwin* in haſt is ſent for, the cauſe related and much aggravated by the King againſt that City, the Earl commanded to raiſe Forces, and uſe the Cittizens thereof as Enemies. *Godwin*, ſorry to ſee Strangers more favour'd of the King than his Native People, anſwer'd, that it were better to ſummon firſt the Chief Men of the Town into the King's Court, to charge them with Sedition, where both Parties might be heard, that not found in fault they might be acquitted, if otherwiſe, by fine or loſs of life might ſatisfie the King whoſe peace they had brok'n, and the Count whom they had injur'd: till this were done refuſeing to proſecute with hoſtile puniſhment them of his own Country unheard, whom his Office was rather to defend. The King diſpleaſed with his refuſal, and not knowing how to compell him, appointed an Aſſembly of all the Peers to be held at *Gloſter*, where the matter might be fully try'd; the Aſſembly was full and frequent according to ſummons; but *Godwin* miſtruſting his own Cauſe, or the violence of his Adverſaries; with his two Sons, *Swane* and *Harold*, and a great Power gathered out of his own and his Sons Earldomes, which contain'd moſt of the South-Eaſt and Weſt parts of *England*, came no furder than *Beverſtan*, giving out that their Forces were to go againſt the *Welſh*, who intended an irruption into *Herefordſhire*; and *Swane* under that pretence lay with part of his Army therabout. The *Welſh* underſtanding this device, and with all diligence clearing themſelves before

fore the King, left *Godwin* detected of falſe accuſation in great hatred to all the Aſſembly. *Leofric* therefore and *Siward* Dukes of great Power, the former in *Mercia*, the other in all parts beyond *Humber*, both ever faithfull to the King, ſend privily with ſpeed to raiſe the Forces of thir Provinces. Which *Godwin* not knowing, ſent boldly to King *Edward*, demanding Count *Euſtace* and his Followers, together with thoſe *Boloignians*, who as *Simeon* writes, held a Caſtle in the Juriſdiction of *Canterbury*. The King as then having but little Force at hand, entertain'd him a while with treaties and delays, till his ſummon'd Army drew nigh, then rejected his demands. *Godwin* thus match'd, commanded his Sons not to begin fight againſt the King; begun with, not to give ground. The Kings Forces were the flower of thoſe Counties whence they came, and eager to fall on:
Sim. Dun. But *Leofric* and the wiſer ſort deteſting Civil War, brought the matter to this accord, that Hoſtages giv'n on either ſide, the whole Cauſe ſhould be again debated at *London*. Thether the King and Lords coming with thir Army, ſent to *Godwin* and his Sons (who with their Powers were come as far as *Southwark*) commanding their appearance unarm'd with only twelve Attendants, and that the reſt of their Souldiers they ſhould deliver over to the King. They to appear without pledges before an adverſe faction deny'd; but to diſmiſs their Souldiers refus'd not, nor in ought elſe to obey the King as far as might ſtand with

with honour and the juſt regard of thir ſafety. This anſwer not pleaſing the King, an Edict was preſently iſſu'd forth, that *Godwin* and his Sons within five dayes depart the Land. He who perceav'd now his numbers to diminiſh, readly obey'd, and with his Wife and three Sons, *Toſti*, *Swane*, and *Gyrtha*, with as much Treaſure as their Ship could carry, embarking at *Thorney*, ſail'd into *Flanders* to Earl *Baldwin*, whoſe Daughter *Judith Toſti* had married: for *Wulnod* his fourth Son was then hoſtage to the King in *Normandy*; his other two, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, taking Ship at *Briſtow*, in a Veſſel that lay ready there belonging to *Swane*, paſs'd into *Ireland*. King *Edward* perſueing his diſpleaſure, divorc'd his Wife *Edith* Earl *Godwins* Daughter, ſending her deſpoil'd of all her Ornaments to *Warewel* with one waiting Maid, to be kept in cuſtody by his Siſter the Abbeſs there. His reaſon of ſo doing was as harſh as his act, that ſhe only, while her neareſt Relations were in baniſhment, might not, though innocent, enjoy eaſe at home. *Malmsb.* After this, *William* Duke of *Normandy* with a great number of Followers coming into *England*, was by King *Edward* honourably entertain'd and led about the Cities, and Caſtles, as it were to ſhew him what ere long was to be his own (though at that time, ſaith *Ingulf*, no mention thereof paſs'd between them) then after ſome time of his abode here, preſented richly and diſmiſs'd, he return'd home. The next year Queen *Emma* dy'd, and was buried

1052. buried at *Winchester*. The Chronicle attri-
Sim. Dun. buted to *John Bramton* a *Yorkshire* Abbot, but rather of some nameless Author living under *Edward* the Third, or later, reports that the year before, by *Robert* the Arch-bishop she was accus'd both of consenting to the death of her Son *Alfred*, and of preparing poyson for *Edward* also; lastly of too much familiarity with *Alwin* Bishop of *Winchester*; that to approve her innocence, praying overnight to St *Swithun*, she offer'd to pass blindfold between certain Plow-shares red hot, according to the Ordalian Law, which without harm she perform'd; that the King thereupon receav'd her to honour, and from her and the Bishop, penance for his credulity; that the Arch-bishop asham'd of his Accusation fled out of *England:* which besides the silence of Ancienter Authors (for the Bishop fled not till a year after) brings the whole story into suspicion, in this more probable, if it can be prov'd, that in the memory of this deliverance from the Nine burning Plow-shares, Queen *Emma* gave to the Abbey of Saint *Swithune* nine Mannors, and Bishop *Alwin* other nine. About this time *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales* wasted *Herefordshire*; to oppose whom the People of that Country with many *Normans*, garrison'd in the Castle of *Hereford*, went out in Armes, but were put to the worse, many slain, and much booty driv'n away by the *Welsh*. Soon after which, *Harold* and *Leofwin*, Sons of *Godwin*, coming into *Severn* with many Ships, in the

the Confines of *Somerſet* and *Dorſetſhire*, ſpoiled many Villages, and reſiſted by thoſe of *Somerſet* and *Devonſhire*, ſlew in fight more than thirty of thir principal men, many of the common ſort, and return'd with much booty to thir Fleet. King *Edward* on the other ſide made ready above ſixty Ships at *Sandwich* well ſtor'd with men and proviſion, under the Conduct of *Odo* and *Radulf* two of his *Norman* Kindred, enjoyning them to find out *Godwin*, whom he heard to be at Sea. To quick'n them, he himſelf lay on ſhip-board, oft-times watch'd and ſail'd up and down in ſearch of thoſe Pirats. But *Godwin*, whether in a miſt, or by other accident, paſſing by them, arrived in another part of *Kent*, and diſperſing ſecret meſſengers abroad, by fair words allured the Chief Men of *Kent*, *Suſſex*, *Surrey*, and *Eſſex* to his Party; which news coming to the Kings Fleet at *Sandwich*, they haſted to find him out; but miſſing of him again, came up without effect to *London*. *Godwin* advertis'd of this, forthwith ſail'd to the Ile of *Wight*; where at length his two Sons *Harold* and *Leofwin* finding him, with thir united Navy lay on the Coaſt, forbearing other hoſtility than to furniſh themſelves with freſh victual from Land as they needed. Thence as one Fleet they ſet forward to *Sandwich*, uſing all fair means, by the way to encreaſe their numbers both of Mariners, and Souldiers. The King then at *London*, ſtartl'd at theſe tydings, gave ſpeedy order to raiſe Forces in all parts which had not revolted from him; but now too late, for *Malmſb.*

for *Godwin* within a few dayes after with his Ships or Gallies came up the River *Thames* to *Southwark*, and till the Tide return'd had conference with the *Londoners*; whom by fair ſpeeches, for he was held a good Speaker in thoſe times, he brought to his bent. The Tide returning, and none upon the Bridge hindring he row'd up in his Gallies along the South Bank; where his Land-army, now come to him, in array of Battel ſtood on the ſhore, then turning toward the North-ſide of the River, where the Kings Gallies lay in ſome readineſs, and Land-forces alſo not far off, he made ſhew as offring to fight; but they underſtood one another, and the Souldiers on either ſide ſoon declar'd thir reſolution not to fight *Engliſh* againſt *Engliſh*. Thence coming to Treaty, the King and the Earl reconcil'd, both Armies were diſſolv'd, *Godwin* and his Sons reſtor'd to thir former Dignities, except *Swane*, who touch't in conſcience for the ſlaughter of *Beorn* his Kinſman, was gone barefoot to *Jeruſalem*, and returning home, dy'd by ſickneſs or *Saracens* in *Lycia*; his Wife *Edith*, *Godwin*'s Daughter, King *Edward* took to him again, dignify'd as before. Then were the *Normans*, who had done many unjuſt things under the Kings Authority, and giv'n him ill counſel againſt his People, baniſh't the Realm, ſome of them not blameable permitted to ſtay. *Robert* Archbiſhop of *Canterbury*, *William* of *London*, *Ulf* of *Lincoln*, all *Normans*, hardly eſcaping with thir followers, got to Sea. The Archbiſhop went with his complaint to *Rome*; but returning,

returning, dy'd in *Normandy* at the ſame Monaſterie from whence he came. *Osbern* and *Hugh* ſurrender'd thir Caſtles, and by permiſſion of *Leofric* paſs'd through his Countries with thir *Normans* to *Macbeth* King of *Scotland*. The year following *Rheſe* Brother to *Griffin*, Prince of *South-Wales*, who by inrodes had done much damage to the *Engliſh*, tak'n at *Bulendun*, was put to death by the King's appointment, and his head brought to him at *Gloſter*. The ſame year at *Wincheſter* on the ſecond holy-day of *Eaſter*, Earl *Godwin* ſitting with the King at Table, ſunk down ſuddenly in his ſeat as dead: his three Sons *Harold*, *Toſti*, and *Gytha*, forthwith carried him into the Kings Chamber, hoping he might revive: but the malady had ſo ſeis'd him, that the 5th day after he expir'd. The *Normans* who hated *Godwin* give out, ſaith *Malmsbury*, that mention happ'ning to be made of *Elfred*, and the King thereat looking ſowerly upon *Godwin*, he to vindicate himſelf, utter'd theſe words, thou O King, at every mention made of thy Brother *Elfred*, look'ſt frowningly upon me: but let God not ſuffer me to ſwallow this morſel, if I be guilty of ought done againſt his life or thy advantage; that after theſe words, choak't with the morſel tak'n, he ſunk down and recover'd not. His firſt Wife was the Siſter of *Canute*, a Woman of much infamy for the trade ſhe drove of buying up *Engliſh* Youths and Maids to ſell in *Denmark*, whereof ſhe made great gain; but e're long was ſtruck with thunder, and dy'd. The 1053. *Sim. Dun.*

1054. year ensuing, *Siward* Earl of *Northumberland*,
Sim. Dun. with a great number of Horse and Foot, attended also by a strong Fleet at the Kings appointment, made an expedition into *Scotland*, vanquish't the Tyrant *Macbeth*, slaying many thousands of *Scots*, with those *Normans* that went thether, and plac'd *Malcolm* Son of the *Cumbrian* King in his stead; yet not without loss of his own Son, and many other both *English* and *Danes*. Told of his Sons death, he ask'd whether he receav'd his deaths wound before or behind? when it was answer'd before, I am glad, saith he; and should not else have thought him, though my Son, worthy of Burial. In the mean while King *Edward* being without Issue to succeed him, sent *Aldred* Bishop of *Winchester* with great Presents to the Emperor, entreating him to prevail with the King of *Hungary*, that *Edward* the remaining Son of his Brother *Edmund Ironside*, might be
1055. sent into *England*. *Siward* but one year surviving his great Victory, dy'd at *York*;
Sim. Dun. reported by *Huntingdon* a man of Giant-like stature, and by his own demeanour at point of death manifested, of a rough and meer souldierly mind. For much disdaining to die in bed by a disease, not in the field fighting with his enemies, he caus'd himself compleatly armed, and weapon'd with Battel-ax and shield to be set in a chair, whether to fight with death, if he could be so vain, or to meet him (when far other weapons and preparations were needful) in a Martial bravery; but true fortitude glories not in the feats of War, as they

Hunting.

are

are ſuch, but as they ſerve to end War ſooner by a victorious Peace. His Earldome the King beſtow'd on *Toſti* the Son of Earl *Godwin*: and ſoon after in a Convention held at *London*, baniſh'd without viſible cauſe, *Huntingdon* ſaith for treaſon, *Algar* the Son of *Leofric*; who paſſing into *Ireland*, ſoon return'd with eighteen ſhips to *Griffin* Prince of *South-Wales*, requeſting his Aid againſt King *Edward*. He aſſembling his powers, enter'd with him into *Herefordſhire*; whom *Radulf* a timorous Captain, Son to the King's Siſter, not by *Euſtace*, but a former Husband, met two miles diſtant from *Hereford*; and having horſed the *Engliſh* who knew better to fight on foot, without ſtroke he with his *French* and *Normans*, beginning to flie, taught the *Engliſh* by his example. *Griffin* and *Algar* following the chaſe, ſlew many, wounded more, enter'd *Hereford*, ſlew ſeven Canons defending the Minſter, burnt the Monaſterie and Reliques, then the City; killing ſome, leading captive others of the Citizens, return'd with great ſpoils; whereof King *Edward* having notice, gather'd a great Army at *Gloſter* under the Conduct of *Harold* now Earl of *Kent*; who ſtrenuouſly perſuing *Griffin*, enter'd *Wales*, and encamp'd beyond *Straddale*. But the enemy flying before him farther into the Country, leaving there the greater part of his Army with ſuch as had charge to fight, if occaſion were offer'd, with the reſt he return'd, and fortifi'd *Hereford* with a Wall and Gates. Mean while *Griffin* and *Algar* dreading the di-

ligence of *Harold*, after many meſſages to and fro, concluded a Peace with him. *Algar* diſcharging his Fleet with pay at *Weſt-Cheſter*, came to the King, and was reſtor'd to his Earldom. But *Griffin* with breach of Faith, the
1056. *Sim. Dun.* next year ſet upon *Leofgar* the Biſhop of *Hereford* and his Clerks then at a place call'd *Glaſtbrig* with *Agelnoth* Vicount of the Shire, and ſlew them; but *Leofric*, *Harold*, and King *Edward* by force, as is likelieſt, though it be not ſaid how, reduc'd him to Peace. The
1057. *Sim. Dun.* next year *Edward* Son of *Edmund Ironſide*, for whom his Uncle King *Edward* had ſent to the Emperour, came out of *Hungary*, deſign'd Succeſſor to the Crown; but within a few dayes after his coming dy'd at *London*, leaving behind him *Edgar Atheling* his Son, *Margaret* and *Chriſtina* his Daughters. About the ſame time alſo dy'd Earl *Leofric* in a good old age, a man of no leſs Vertue than Power in his time, Religious, Prudent and Faithful to his Country, happily wedded to *Godiva* a Woman
1058. *Sim. Dun.* of great praiſe. His Son *Algar* found leſs favour with King *Edward*, again baniſh't the year after his Father's death; but he again by the aid of *Griffin*, and a Fleet from *Norway*, maugre the King, ſoon recover'd his Earldom.
1059. *Sim. Dun.* The next year *Malcolm* King of *Scots* coming to viſit King *Edward*, was brought on his way by *Toſti* the *Northumbrian* Earl, to whom he
1061. *Sim. Dun.* ſwore Brotherhood: yet the next year but one, while *Toſti* was gone to *Rome* with *Aldred* Arch-biſhop of *York* for his Pall, this ſworn Brother taking advantage of his abſence,

roughly

roughly harrass'd *Northumberland*. The year passing to an end without other matter of moment, save the frequent inrodes and robberies of *Griffin*, whom no bonds of Faith could restrain, King *Edward* sent against him after *Christmas*, *Harold* now Duke of *West-Saxons*, with no great body of Horse from *Gloster*, where he than kept his Court, whose coming heard of, *Griffin* not daring to abide, nor in any part of his Land holding himself secure, escap't hardly by Sea, e're *Harold* coming to *Rudeland*, burnt his Palace and Ships there, returning to *Gloster* the same day: but by the middle of *May* setting out with a Fleet from *Bristow*, he sail'd about the most part of *Wales*, and met by his Brother *Tosti* with many Troops of Horse, as the King had appointed, began to waste the Country; but the *Welsh* giving pledges, yeilded themselves, promis'd to become tributary, and banish *Griffin* thir Prince; who lurking somewhere, was the next year tak'n and slain by *Griffin* Prince of *North-Wales*; his Head, with the head and tackle of his Ship sent to *Harold*, by him to the King, who of his gentleness made *Blechgent* and *Rithwallon* or *Rivallon* his two Brothers Princes in his stead; they to *Harold* in behalf of the King swore Fealty and Tribute. Yet the next year *Harold* having built a fair house at a place call'd *Portascith* in *Monmouth-shire*, and stor'd it with provision, that the King might lodge there in time of hunting, *Caradoc* the Son of *Griffin* slain the year before, came with a number of men, slew all he found there, and took

1062. *Sim. Dun.*

1063. *Sim. Dun.*

1064. *Sim. Dun.*

1065. *Sim. Dun.* *Camden.*

away the provision. Soon after which the *Northumbrians* in a tumult at *York*, beset the Palace of *Tosti* thir Earl, slew more than two hundred of his Souldiers and Servants, pillaged his Treasure, and put him to flie for his life. The cause of this Insurrection they alledg'd to be, for that the Queen *Edith* had commanded in her Brother *Tosti*'s behalf, *Gospatric* a Noble Man of that Countrey to be treacherously slain in the Kings Court; and that *Tosti* himself the year before with like treachery had caus'd to be slain in his Chamber *Gamel* and *Ulf* two other of thir Noble Men, besides his intolerable exactions, and oppressions. Then in a manner the whole Countrey coming up to complain of thir grievances, met with *Harold* at *Northampton*, whom the King at *Tosti*'s request had sent to pacifie the *Northumbrians*; but they laying op'n the cruelty of his Government, and thir own birth-right of freedom not to endure the tyrannie of any Governour whatsoever, with absolute refusal to admit him again, and *Harold* hearing reason, all the accomplices of *Tosti* were expell'd the Earldom. He himself baniſh't the Realm, went into *Flanders*; *Morcar* the Son of *Algar* made Earl in his stead. *Huntingdon* tells another cause of *Tosti*'s baniſhment, that one day at *Windsor*, while *Harold* reach'd the Cup to King *Edward*, *Tosti* envying to see his younger Brother in greater favour than himself, could not forbear to run furiously upon him, catching hold of his Hair, the scuffle was soon parted by other attendants

rushing

rushing between, and *Tosti* forbidd'n the Court. He with continu'd fury rideing to *Hereford*, where *Harold* had many Servants, preparing an entertainment for the King, came to the House and set upon them with his followers; then lopping off Hands, Arms, Legs of some, Heads of others, threw them into Butts of Wine, Meath, or Ale, which were laid in for the Kings drinking: and at his going away charg'd them to send him this word, that of other fresh meats he might bring with him to his Farm what he pleas'd, but of Sous he should find plenty provided ready for him: that for his barbarous Act the King pronounced him banisht; that the *Northumbrians* taking advantage at the Kings displeasure and sentence against him, rose also to be reveng'd of his cruelties done to themselves; but this no way agrees, for why then should *Harold* or the King so much labour with the *Northumbrians* to re-admit him, if he were a banisht man for his Crimes done before? About this time it happ'd that *Harold* putting to Sea one day for his pleasure, in a Fisher Boat, from his Mannor at *Bosham* in *Sussex*, caught with a Tempest too far off Land, was carried into *Normandy*; and by the Earl of *Pontiew*, on whose Coast he was driv'n, at his own request brought to Duke *William*; who entertaining him with great courtesie, so far won him, as to promise the Duke by Oath of his own accord, not only the Castle of *Dover* then in his tenure, but the Kingdom also after King *Edward*'s death to his utmost endeavour, therup- *Malmsb.*

on bethrothing the Dukes Daughter then too young for marriage, and departing richly presented. Others say that *King Edward* himself after the death of *Edward* his Nephew, sent *Harold* thether, on purpose to acquaint Duke *William* with his intention to bequeath him his Kingdom: but *Malmsbury* accounts the former story to be the truer. *Ingulf* writes, that *King Edward* now grown old, and perceaving *Edgar* his Nephew both in body and mind unfit to Govern, especially against the pride and insolence of *Godwins* Sons, who would never obey him; Duke *William* on the other side of high Merit, and his Kinsman by the Mother, had sent *Robert* Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*, to acquaint the Duke with his purpose, not long before *Harold* came thether. The former part may be true, that *King Edward* upon such considerations had sent one or other; but Arch-bishop *Robert* was fled the Land, and dead many years before. *Eadmer* and *Simeon* write, that *Harold* went of his own accord into *Normandy*, by the Kings permission or connivance, to get free his Brother *Wulnod* and Nephew *Hacun* the Son of *Swane*, whom the King had tak'n hostages of *Godwin* and sent into *Normandy*; that King *Edward* foretold *Harold*, his journey thether would be to the detriment of all *England* and his own reproach; that Duke *William* then acquainted *Harold*, how *Edward* e're his coming to the Crown had promis'd, if he ever attain'd it, to leave Duke *William* Successor after him. Last of these *Mathew Paris* writes, that *Harold*

Leges Ed. Conf. Tit. Lex Noric.

rold to get free of Duke *William*, affirm'd his coming thether not to have bin by accident or force of Tempeſt, but on ſet purpoſe, in that private manner to enter with him into ſecret confederacie; ſo variouſly are theſe things reported. After this King *Edward* grew ſickly, yet as he was able kept his *Chriſtmas* at *London*, and was at the Dedication of St. *Peter*'s Church in *Weſtminſter*, which he had rebuilt; but on the Eve of *Epiphanie*, or *Twelftide*, deceas'd much lamented, and in the Church was Entoomb'd. That he was harmleſs and ſimple, is conjectur'd by his words in anger to a Peaſant who had croſs'd his Game (for with Hunting and Hawking he was much delighted) By God and Gods Mother, ſaid he, I ſhall do you as ſhrewd a turn if I can; obſerving that Law-Maxime, the beſt of all his Succeſſors, that the King of *England* can do no wrong. The ſoftneſs of his Nature gave growth to Factions of thoſe about him, *Normans* eſpecially and *Engliſh*; theſe complaining that *Robert* the Arch-biſhop was a ſower of diſſention between the King and his People, a traducer of the *Engliſh*; the other ſide, that *Godwin* and his Sons bore themſelves arrogantly and proudly towards the King, Uſurping to themſelves equal ſhare in the Government; oft-times making ſport with his ſimplicity, that through their Power in the Land, they made no ſcruple to kill men of whoſe Inheritance they took a likeing, and ſo to take poſſeſſion. The truth is, that *Godwin* and his Sons did many things boiſterouſly and

1066. *Sim. Dun.*

Hunting.

and violently, much againſt the Kings mind; which not able to reſiſt, he had, as ſome ſay, his Wife *Edith Godwin's* Daughter in ſuch averſation, as in Bed never to have touch'd her; whether for this cauſe or miſtak'n Chaſtitie, not commendable; to enquire further is not material. His Lawes held good and juſt, and long after deſir'd by the *Engliſh* of thir *Norman* Kings, are yet extant. He is ſaid to be at Table not exceſſive, at Feſtivals nothing puft up with the coſtly Robes he wore, which his Queen with curious Art had woven for him in Gold. He was full of Almsdeeds, and exhorted the Monks to like Charitie. He is ſaid to be the firſt of *Engliſh* Kings that cur'd the Diſeaſe call'd thence the Kings Evil; yet *Malmsbury* blames them who attribute that Cure to his Royaltie, not to his Sanctitie; ſaid alſo to have cur'd certain blind men with the water wherein he had waſh'd his hands. A little before his Death, lying ſpeechleſs two days, the third day after a deep ſleep, he was heard to pray, that if it were a true Viſion, not an Illuſion which he had ſeen, God would give him ſtrength to utter it, otherwiſe not. Then he related how he had ſeen two devout Monks, whom he knew in *Normandy*, to have liv'd and dy'd well, who appearing, told him they were ſent Meſſengers from God to foretell, that becauſe the great Ones of *England*, Dukes, Lords, Biſhops, and Abbots, were not Miniſters of God but of the Devil, God had deliver'd the Land to their Enemies; and when he

he desir'd that he might reveal this Vision, to the end they might repent, it was answer'd; they neither will repent, neither will God pardon them; at this relation others trembling, *Stigand* the Simonious Arch-bishop, whom *Edward* much to blame had suffer'd many years to sit Primate of the Church, is said to have laugh't, as at the feavourish Dream of a doteing Old Man; but the event prov'd it true.

Harold Son of Earl *Godwin*.

Harold, whether by King *Edward* a little before his Death ordain'd Succeſſor to the Crown, as *Simeon* of *Durham*, and others affirm; or by the prevalence of his Faction, excluding *Edgar* the right Heir, Grandchild to *Edmund Ironſide*, as *Malmsbury* and *Huntingdon* agree, no ſooner was the Funeral of King *Edward* ended, but on the ſame day was Elected and Crown'd King: and no ſooner plac't in the Throne, but began to frame himſelf by all manner of compliances to gain affection, endeavour'd to make good Laws, repeal'd bad, became a great Patron to Church and Church-men, courteous and affable to all reputed good, a hater of evil doers, charg'd all his Officers to puniſh Theeves, Robbers, and all diſturbers of the Peace, while he himſelf by Sea and Land labour'd in the defence of his Countrey: ſo good an actor is ambition. In the mean while *Hoved.* *Florent.*

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Hoved. *Florent.*

a blazing Star, ſeven Mornings together, about the end of *April*, was ſeen to ſtream terribly, not only over *England*, but other parts of the world; foretelling heer, as was thought, the great Changes approaching: plainlieſt prognoſticated by *Elmer* a Monk of *Malmsbury*, who could not foreſee, when time was, the breaking of his own Legs for ſoaring too high. He in his youth ſtrangely aſpiring, had made and fitted Wings to his Hands and Feet; with theſe on the top of a Tower, ſpread out to gather Air, he flew more than a Furlong; but the wind being too high, came fluttering down, to the maiming of all his Limbs; yet ſo conceited of his Art, that he attributed the cauſe of his fall to the want of a Tail, as Birds have, which he forgot to make to his hinder parts. This ſtory, though ſeeming otherwiſe too light in the midſt of a ſad narration, yet for the ſtrangeneſs thereof, I thought worthy anough the placing as I found it plac't in my Author. But to digreſs no farder, *Toſti* the King's Brother coming from *Flanders*, full of Envy at his younger Brother's advancement to the Crown, reſolv'd what he might to trouble his Reign; forcing therefore them of *Wight Ile* to Contribution, he ſail'd thence to *Sandwich*, committing Piracies on the Coaſt between. *Harold* then reſiding at *London*, with a great number of Ships drawn together, and of Horſe Troops by Land, prepares in perſon for *Sandwich*: whereof *Toſti* having notice, directs his courſe with ſixty Ships towards *Lindſey*, taking with him all the Sea-

Malmsb.

men

men he found, willing or unwilling: where he burnt many Villages, and slew many of the Inhabitants; but *Edwin* the *Mercian* Duke, and *Morcar* his Brother, the *Northumbrian* Earl, with thir Forces on either side, soon drove him out of the Countrey. Who thence betook him to *Malcolm* the *Scottish* King, and with him abode the whole Summer. About the same time Duke *William* sending Embassadors to admonish *Harold* of his Promise and Oath, to assist him in his Plea to the Kingdom, he made answer, that by the Death of his Daughter betroth'd to him on that condition, he was absolv'd of his Oath, or not dead, he could not take her now an Outlandish Woman, without consent of the Realm; that it was presumptuously done, and not to be persisted in, if without consent or knowledge of the States, he had sworn away the right of the Kingdome; that what he swore was to gain his Liberty, being in a manner then his Prisner; that it was unreasonable in the Duke to require or expect of him the foregoing of a Kingdome, conferr'd upon him with universal favour and acclamation of the People: To this flat denial he added contempt, sending the Messengers back, saith *Mathew Paris*, on maim'd Horses. The Duke thus contemptuously put off, addresses himself to the Pope, setting forth the Justice of his Cause, which *Harold*, whether through haughtiness of mind, or distrust, or that the wayes to *Rome* were stop'd, sought not to do. Duke *William*, besides the Promise and Oath *Eadmer.*

of

of *Harold*, alledg'd that King *Edward* by the advice of *Seward*, *Godwin* himself, and *Stigand* the Arch-bishop, had given him the Right of Succession, and had sent him the Son and Nephew of *Godwin*, pledges of the guift; the Pope sent Duke *William*, after this demonstration of his Right, a Consecrated Banner. Whereupon he having with great care and choice got an Army of tall and stout Souldiers, under Captains of great skill and mature Age, came in *August* to the Port of St *Valerie*. Mean while *Harold* from *London* comes to *Sandwich*, there expecting his Navy, which also coming, he sails to the *Ile* of *Wight*, and having heard of Duke *William*'s preparations and readiness to invade him, kept good watch on the Coast, and Foot Forces every where in fit places to guard the shoar. But e're the middle of *September*, provision failing when it was most needed, both Fleet and Army return home. When on a sudden, *Harold Harvager* King of *Norway*, with a Navy of more than five hundred great Ships, (others less'n them by two hundred, others augment them to a thousand) appears at the mouth of *Tine*; to whom Earl *Tosti* with his Ships came as was agreed between them; whence both uniting, set sail with all speed, and enter'd the River *Humber*. Thence turning into *Ouse*, as far as *Rical*, landed; and won *Yorke* by assault. At these tidings *Harold* with all his Power hastes thetherward; but e're his coming, *Edwin* and *Morcar* at *Fulford* by *Yorke*, on the North side of *Ouse*, about the

Malmsb. Math. Paris.

Feast

Feast of St *Mathew* had giv'n them Battel; successfully at first, but over-born at length with numbers; and forc't to turn their backs, more of them perish'd in the River, than in the Fight. The *Norwegians* taking with them five hunderd Hostages out of *York*, and leaving there one hundred and fifty of their own, retir'd to their Ships. But the fifth day after King *Harold* with a great and well appointed Army, coming to *York*, and at *Stamford*-Bridge, or *Battel*-Bridge on *Darwent*, assailing the *Norwegians*, after much bloodshed on both sides, cut off the greatest part of them with *Harfager* their King, and *Tosti* his own Brother. But *Olave* the Kings Son, and *Paul* Earl of *Orkney*, left with many Souldiers to guard the Ships, surrendring themselves with Hostages, and Oath giv'n never to return as Enemies, he suffer'd freely to depart with twenty Ships, and the small remnant of their Army. One man of the *Norwegians* is not to be forgott'n, who with incredible valour keeping the Bridge a long hour against the whole *English* Army, with his single resistance delai'd their Victorie; and scorning offer'd life, till in the end no man daring to grapple with him, either dreaded as too strong, or contemned as one desperate, he was at length shot dead with an Arrow; and by his fall op'nd the passage of perfect to a compleat Victorie. Wherewith *Harold* lifted up in mind, and forgetting now his former shews of popularitie, defrauded his Souldiers their due, and well deserved

Camden.

Malmsb.

share

share of the spoils. While these things thus past in *Northumberland*, Duke *William* lay still at Saint *Valerie*; his Ships were readie, but the wind serv'd not for many days; which put the Souldierie into much discouragement and murmur, taking this for an unlucky signe of thir success; at last the wind came favourable, the Duke first under sail awaited the rest at Anchor, till all coming forth, the whole Fleet of nine hunderd Ships, with a prosperous
Sim. Dun. gale arriv'd at *Hastings*. At his going out of the Boat by a slip falling on his hands, to correct the Omen, a Souldier standing by said aloud, that their Duke had tak'n possession of *England*. Landed, he restrein'd his Army from waste and spoil, saying, that they ought to spare what was thir own. But these are things related of *Alexander* and *Cæsar*, and I doubt thence borrow'd by the Monks to inlay their Storie. The Duke for fifteen dayes after landing kept his Men quiet within the Camp, having tak'n the Castle of *Hastings*, or built a Fortress there. *Harold* secure the while, and proud of his new Victorie, thought all his Enemies now under foot: but sitting jollily at dinner, news is brought him, that Duke *William* of *Normandy* with a great multitude of Horse and Foot, Slingers and Archers, besides other choice Auxiliaries wch he had hir'd in *France*, was arriv'd at *Pevensey*. *Harold* who had expected him all the Summer, but not so late in the year as now it was, for it was *October*; with his Forces much diminish't after two sore Conflicts, and the departing

departing of many others from him discontented, in great haste marches to *London*. Thence not tarrying for supplies which were on thir way towards him, hurries into *Sussex* (for he was always in hast since the day of his Coronation) and e're the third part of his Army could be well put in order, finds the Duke about nine mile from *Hastings*, and now drawing nigh, sent spies before him to survey the strength and number of his Enemies: them, discover'd such, the Duke causing to be led about, and after well fill'd with meat and drink sent back. They not over-wise, brought word that the Dukes Army were most of them Priests; for they saw thir faces all over shav'n; the *English* then useing to let grow on their upper-lip large Mustachio's, as did anciently the *Britans*. The King laughing, answer'd, That they were not Priests, but valiant and hardy Souldiers. Therefore said *Girtha* his Brother, a youth of noble courage and understanding above his Age, Forbear thou thy self to fight, who art obnoxious to Duke *William* by Oath, let us unsworn undergo the hazard of Battel, who may justly fight in the defence of our Country; thou reserved to fitter time, may'st either reunite us flying, or revenge us dead. The King not hark'ning to this, lest it might seem to argue Fear in him, or a Bad Cause, with like Resolution rejected the Offers of Duke *William* sent to him by a Monk before the Battel, with this only Answer hastily deliver'd, Let God judge between us. The Offers were

these, That *Harold* would either lay down the Scepter, or hold it of him, or try his Title with him by single Combate in the sight of both Armies, or referr it to the Pope. These rejected, both sides prepar'd to fight the next morning, the *English* from singing and drinking all night, the *Normans* from confession of thir sins, and communion of the Host. The *English* were in a strait disadvantagious place, so that many discourag'd with thir ill ordering, scarce having room where to stand, slip'd away before the Onset, the rest in close order with thir Battel-Axes and Shields, made an impenetrable Squadron: the King himself with his Brothers on foot stood by the Royal Standard, wherein the figure of a man fighting was inwov'n with Gold and precious Stones, The *Norman* Foot, most Bowmen, made the formost Front, on either side Wings of Horse somewhat behind. The Duke Arming, and his Corslet giv'n him on the wrong side, said pleasantly, *The strength of my Dukedom will be turn'd now into a Kingdom.* Then the whole Army singing the Song of *Rowland*, the remembrance of whose Exploits might heart'n them, imploring lastly Divine help, the Battel began; and was fought sorely on either side; but the main Body of *English* foot by no means would be brok'n, till the Duke causing his men to feign flight, drew them out with desire of pursuit into op'n disorder, then turn'd suddenly upon them so routed by themselves, which wrought thir overthrow; yet so they dy'd not unmanfully, but

turning

turning oft upon thir Enemies, by the advantage of an upper ground, beat them down by heaps, and fill'd up a great Ditch with thir Carcasses. Thus hung the Victory wavering on either side, from the Third hour of day to Evening; when *Harold* having maintain'd the fight with unspeakable courage and personal valour, shot into the head with an arrow, fell at length, and left his Souldiers without heart longer to withstand the unwearied Enemy. With *Harold* fell also his two Brothers, *Leofwin*, and *Girtha*, with them greatest part of the *English* Nobility. His Body lying dead a Knight or Souldier wounding on the thigh, was by the Duke presently turn'd out of military service. Of *Normans* and *French* were slain no small number; the Duke himself also that day not a little hazarded his person, having had three choice Horses kill'd under him. Victory obtain'd, and his dead carefully buried, the *English* also by permission, he sent the Body of *Harold* to his Mother without ransom, though she offer'd very much to redeem it, which having receav'd, she buried at *Waltham*, in a Church built there by *Harold*. In the mean while, *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who had withdrawn themselves from *Harold*, hearing of his death, came to *London*; sending *Aldgith* the Queen thir Sister with all speed to *West-Chester*. *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, and many of the Nobles, with the *Londoners*, would have set up *Edgar* the right Heir, and prepar'd themselves to fight for him; but *Morcar* and *Edwin* not likeing the choice, who

each of them expected to have been chos'n before him, withdrew thir Forces and return-
Sim. Dun. ed home. Duke *William* contrary to his former Resolution, if *Florent* of *Worster*, and they who follow him say true, wasting, burning, and slaying all in his way, or rather, as saith *Malmsbury*, not in a Hostile but in Regal manner came up to *London*, met at *Barcham* by *Edgar*, with the Nobles, Bishops, Citizens, and at length *Edwin* and *Morcar*, who all submitted to him, gave Hostages, and swore Fidelity, he to them promis'd Peace and Defence; yet permitted his Men the while to burn and make prey. Coming to *London* with all his Army, he was on *Christmas* day solemnly Crown'd in the great Church at *Westminster*, by *Aldred* Arch-bishop of *York*, having first giv'n his Oath at the Altar in presence of all the People, to Defend the Church, well Govern the People, Maintain Right Law; prohibit Rapine and unjust Judgment. Thus the *English*, while they agreed not about the choice of thir Native King, were constrein'd to take the Yoke of an Out-landish Conquerour. With what minds, and by what course of life they had fitted themselves for this Servitude, *William* of *Malmsbury* spares not to lay op'n. Not a few years before the *Normans* came, the Clergy, though in *Edward* the Confessors daies, had lost all good Literature and Religion, scarce able to read and understand thir Latin Service: He was a miracle to others who knew his Grammar. The Monks went clad in fine Stuffs, and made no difference

difference what they eat; which though in it self no fault, yet to thir Consciences was irreligious. The great men giv'n to Gluttony and dissolute Life, made a prey of the Common People, abuseing thir Daughters whom they had in Service, then turning them off to the Stews; the meaner sort tipling together night and day, spent all they had in Drunkenness, attended with other Vices which effeminate mens minds. Whence it came to pass, that carried on with fury and rashness more than any true fortitude or skill of War, they gave to *William* their Conquerour so easie a Conquest. Not but that some few of all sorts were much better among them; but such was the generality. And as the long suffering of God permits bad men to enjoy prosperous daies with the good, so his severity oft-times exempts not good men from thir share in evil times with the bad.

If these were the Causes of such Misery and Thraldom to those our Ancestors, with what better close can be Concluded, than here in fit season to remember this Age in the midst of her Security, to fear from like Vices without amendment the Revolution of like Calamities

FINIS.

AN

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Danius *reckon'd among the Ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 33
Deruvianus, *ſee* Faganus.
Dinothus *Abbot of* Bangor *his Speech to Biſhop* Auſtin. p. 168. 169
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Dis *the firſt peopler of this Iland, as ſome fabulouſly affirm,* p. 8 *the ſame with* Samothes. ib.
Donaldus *ſaid to have headed the* Caledonians *againſt* Septimus Severus. p. 100
Donaldus *King of* Scotland *brought to hard conditions by* Osbert *and* Ella *Kings of* Northumberland. p. 230
Druids *falſly alledg'd out of* Cæſar *to have forbidden the* Britans *to write their memorable deeds.* p. 6
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E.

EAdbald *after the death of his Father* Ethelbert, *falls back to Heathenism*, p. 171 *he runs distracted, but afterwards returns to his right mind and faith*, p. 172 *by what means it happen'd*, ibid. *he gives his Sister* Edelburga *in marriage to* Edwin, p. 174 *he dies and leaves his Son* Ercombert *to succeed.* p. 183
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Eadbright, *otherwise call'd* Ethelbert, *usurping the Kingdom of* Kent, *and contending with* Kenulph *the* Mercian, *is taken prisoner.* p. 214
Eadburga *by chance poisons her Husband* Birthric *with a cup which she had prepar'd for another*, p. 216 *the choice propos'd to her by* Charles *the* Great *to whom she fled*, 216, 217 *he assignes her a rich Monastery to dwell in as Abbess*, p. 217 *detected of unchastity, she is expelled, and dies in beggery at* Pavia. ibid.
Eandred *Son of* Eardulf *Reigns thirty three years King of* Northumberland *after* Alfwold *the Usurper*, p. 217 *becomes tributary to* Ecbert. p. 281
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Ecbert succeeds his Father Ercombert in the Kingdom of Kent, p. 191 dying, leaves a suspicion of having slain his Uncle's Sons, Elbert and Egelbright. p. 192
Ecbert of the West-Saxon Linage, flies from Birthric's suspicion to Offa, and thence into France, p. 215 after Birthric's decease is recall'd, and with general applause made King, p. 216 he subdues the Britans of Cornwall. and beyond Severn, p. 218 overthrows Bernulf the Usurper of Mercia at Ellandune or Wilton, p. 219 the East-Angles having slain Bernulf, yield to his Soveraignty, ibid. drives Baldred King of Kent out of his Kingdome, and causeth both Kent and other Provinces to submit to his Scepter, p. 220 Withlaf of Mercia becomes tributary to him, ibid. he gives the Danes Battel by the River Carr, p. 224 in another Battel he puts to flight a great Army of them together with the Cornish Men joyning with them, p. 225 he dies, and is buried at Winchester, ibid.

Ecferth *the Son of* Offa *the* Mercian *within four months ends his Reign.* p. 21.
Ecfrid Oſwi's *eldeſt Son ſucceeds him in the Kingdome of* Northumberland, p. 192 *wins* Lindſey *from* Wulfer *the* Mercian, ibid. *he wars againſt* Ethelred *the Brother of* Wulfer, p. 196 *he ſends* Bertus *with an Army to ſubdue* Ireland, ibid. *marching againſt the* Picts *is cut off with moſt of his Army*, p. 197 *his death reveng'd by* Bertfrid *a* Northumbrian *Captain.* p. 200
Edan *a King of the* Scots *in* Britan *put to flight by* Ethelfrid. p. 166
Edelard *King of the* Weſt-Saxons *after* Ina *moleſted with the Rebellion of his Kinſman* Oſwald, p. 204 *overcoming thoſe troubles, dies in peace.* ibid.
Edgar *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Edwi *in the* Engliſh *Monarchy, calls home* Dunſtan *from Baniſhment*, p. 273 *his peaceable and proſperous Reign, and his favour towards the Monks*, p. 274 *his ſtrict obſervance of Juſtice, and his care to ſecure the Nation with a ſtrong Fleet*, ibid. *he is homag'd and row'd down the River* Dee *by eight Kings*, p. 275 *his expoſtulation with* Kened *King of* Scotland, p. 276 *he is cheated by the treacherous Duke* Athelwold *of* Elfrida, *whom, avenging himſelf upon the ſaid Duke, he marries*, p. 277, 278 *attempting on the chaſtity of a young Lady at* Andover, *he is pleaſantly deceiv'd by the Mother*, p. 279 *dying in the height of his Glory, he is buried at* Glaſton-Abby. p. 275
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the Crown of England *from his Grandfather* Edmund Ironſide, p. 340 *excluded by* Harold *Son of Earl* Godwin. p. 347

Edilhere *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Anna *in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles, *ſlain in a battel againſt* Oſwi. p. 189

Edilwalk *the* South-Saxon *perſwaded to Chriſtianity by* Wulfer. p. 193

Edmund *Crown'd King of the* Eaſt-Angles *at* Burie, p. 229, 230 *his whole Army put to flight by the* Danes, *he is taken, bound to a ſtake, and ſhot with arrows.* p. 236

Edmund *the Brother and Succeſſor of* Athelſtane *in the* Engliſh *Monarchy, frees* Mercia, *and takes ſeveral Towns from the* Danes, p. 269 *he drives* Anlaf *and* Suthfrid *out of* Northumberland, *and* Dummail *out of* Cumberland, p. 269, 270 *the ſtrange manner of his death.* p. 270

Edmund *ſirnamed* Ironſide, *the Son of* Ethelred, *ſet up by divers of the Nobles againſt* Canute, p. 305 *in ſeveral Battels againſt the* Danes, *he comes off for the moſt part victorious,* p. 306, 307 *at length conſents to divide the Kingdom with him,* p. 308 *his death thought to have bin violent, and not without* Canute's *conſent.* p. 309, 310

Edred *the third Brother and Succeſſor of* Athelſtane, *with much ado reduceth the* Northumbrians, *and puts an end to that Kingdom,* p. 271 *dies in the flower of his Age, and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 272

Edric *the Son of* Edelwalk *King of* South-Saxons *ſlain by* Kedwalla *the* Weſt-Saxon, p. 194

Earle *surnamed* Streon *advanc't by King* Ethelred, *marries his Daughter* Elgiva, p. 293 *he secretly murthers two Noblemen whom he had invited to his Lodging*, p. 301 *he practiſes against the life of Prince* Edmund, *and revolts to the* Danes, p. 303 *his cunning devices to hinder* Edmund *in the proſecution of his Victories against* Canute, p. 306, 307 *is thought by ſome to have bin the Contriver of King* Edmunds *murther*, p. 309 *the Government of the* Mercians *conferr'd upon him*, p. 311 *he is put to death by* Canutus, *and his head ſtuck upon a Pole, and ſet upon the higheſt Tower in* London. p. 312

Edward *the Elder Son and Succeſſor of King* Alfred, *hath War with* Ethelwald *his Kinſman, who aſpiring to the Crown, ſtirs up the* Danes *againſt him*, p. 251, 252 *he proves ſucceſsfull and potent, divers Princes and great Commanders of the* Danes *ſubmitting to him*, p. 253, 254, &c. *the King and whole Nation of* Scotland, *with divers other Princes and People, do him homage as their Soveraign*, p. 258 *he dies at* Farendon, *and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 259, 260

Edward *ſirnamed the Younger*, Edgar's *Son by his firſt Wife* Egelfleda, *is advanc't to the Throne*, p. 281 *the Contuſt in his Reign between the Monks and Secular Prieſts each abetted by their ſeveral Parties*, p. 282 *great miſchief done by the falling of a houſe where a General Council for deciding the Controverſie was held*, ibid. Edward *inhumanely murder'd by the treachery of his Step-mother* Elfrida. p. 283

Edward

Edward *Son of* Edmund Ironside, *Heir apparent to the Crown, dies at* London. p. 304
Edward *surnamed the* Confessor, *the Son of King* Ethelred *by* Emma, *after* Hardecnute's *death is crown'd at* Winchester, p. 326 *he seizeth on the Treasures of his Mother Queen* Emma, ibid. *he marries* Edith *Earl* Godwin's *Daughter*, ibid. *he makes preparation against* Magnus *King of* Norway, *but next year makes peace with* Harold Harvager, p. 327 *he advances the* Normans *in* England, *which proves of ill consequence*, p. 329, 330 *he is oppos'd by Earl* Godwin *in the Cause of* Eustace *of* Boloign, *banishes the Earl, and divorces his Daughter whom he had married*, p. 330, 331, 332 *entertains Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 333 *he sends* Odo *and* Radulf *with a Fleet against* Godwin *and his Sons exercising Piracy*, p. 334, 335 *reconciliation at length made, he restores the Earl, his Sons and Daughter, all to their former dignities*, p. 336 *he is said to have design'd Duke* William *of* Normandy *his Successor to the Crown*, p. 344 *dies and is buried at* Westminster, p. 345 *his Character*. p. 346, 347
Edwi *the Son and Successor of* Edmund *is Crowned at* Kingston, p. 272 *he banisheth Bishop* Dunstan *for reproving his wantonness with* Algiva, *and proves an enemy to all Monks*, ibid. *the* Mercians *and* Northumbrians *revolt from him, and set up his Brother* Edgar, p. 273 *with grief thereof he ends his days, and is buried at* Winchester. ibid.
Edwin *thrown out of the Kingdom of* Deira *by* Ethelfrid,

Ethelfrid, p. 157, 172 *flying to* Redwall *the* East-Angle *for refuge, he is defended against* Ethelfrid, p. 173 *he exceeds in power and extent of Dominion all before him,* p, 174 *marries* Edelburga *the Sister of* Eadbald, ibid. *he is wounded by an Assassin from* Cuichelm, p. 175 *the strange relation of his Conversion to Christianity,* p. 176, 177 *he perswades* Eorpald *the Son of* Redwald *to embrace the Christian Faith,* p. 179 *he is slain in a Battel against* Kedwalla. p. 180

Edwin *Duke of the* Mercians, *see* Morcar.

Elanius *reckon'd in the Number of ancient* British *Kings.* p. 33

Eldadus, p. 36

Eldol. ibid.

Eledancus, ibid.

Elfled *the Sister of King* Edward *the Elder, takes* Derby *from the* Danes, p. 255 *her Army of* Mercians *victorious against the* Welch, ibid. *after several Martial Acts, she dies at* Tamworth. p. 258

Elfred *the Son of King* Ethelred *by* Emma, *betray'd by Earl* Godwin, *and cruelly made away by* Harold. p. 319, 321

Elfwald *the Son of* Oswulf *succeeding* Ethelred *in* Northumberland *is rebell'd against by two of his Noblemen* Osbald *and* Ethelheard, p. 209 *he is slain by the Conspiracy of* Siggan *one of his Nobles.* p. 210

Elfwin *slain in a Battel between his Brother* Ecfrid *and* Ethelred. p. 196

Elidure's *noble demeanor towards his deposed Brother,* p. 34 *after* Archigallo's *death he resumes*

ſumes the Government, but is driven out again and impriſon'd by his two other Brethren. p. 35
Elind *reckon'd in the number of Ancient* Britiſh *Kings.* p. 36
Ella *the* Saxon *lands with his three Sons, and beats the* Britans *in two Battels,* p. 140 *he and his Son* Ciſſa *take* Andredſcheſter *in* Kent *by force,* p. 141 *begins his Kingdom of the* South-Saxons. ibid.
Elwold *Nephew of* Ethelwald *Reigns King of the* Eaſt-Angles *after* Aldulf. p. 219
Emeric *ſucceeds* Otha *in the Kingdom of* Kent. p. 150
Emma *the Daughter of* Richard *Duke of* Normandy *married firſt to K.* p. 290 *afterwards to* Canute, p. 312 *baniſht by her Son-in-Law* Harold, *ſhe retires to* Flanders, *and is entertained by Earl* Baldwin, p. 318, 319 *her Treaſures ſeized on by her Son King* Edward, p. 326 *ſhe dies and is buried at* Winchester, p. 334 *a Tradition concerning her queſtion'd.* ibid.
Eorpwald *the Son of* Redwald *King of the* Eaſt-Angles *perſwaded to Chriſtianity by* Edwin, p. 179 *he is ſlain in fight by* Ricbert *a Pagan.* p. 180
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Ercombert *ſucceeds* Eadbald *in the Kingdom of* Kent. p. 183
Eric, *ſee* Iric.
Ermenred *thought to have had more right to the Kingdom than* Ercombert. ibid.
Eſcwin *and* Kentwin *the Nephew and Son of* Kinegil,

negil, *said to have succeeded* Kenwalk *in the Government of the* West-Saxons, p. 192 Escwin *joyns Rattel with* Wulfer *at* Bedanhafer, *and not long after deceaseth.* ibid.

Estrildis *below'd by* Eberine, p. 20, 21 *is with her Daughter* Sabra *thrown into a River.* p. 21

Ethelbald *King of* Mercia, *after* Ina *commands all the Provinces on this side* Humber, p. 201 *he takes the Town of* Somerton, p. 204 *fraudulently assaults part of* Northumberland *in* Eadberts *absence,* ibid. *his encounter at* Beorford *with* Cuthred *the* West-Saxon, p. 205, 206 *in another bloody fight at* Secandune *he is slain.* p. 207

Ethelbald *and* Ethelbert *share the* English-Saxon *Kingdom between them after their Father* Ethelwolf, Ethelbald *marries* Judith *his Father's Widow,* p. 232 *is buried at* Shirburn. ib. Ethelbert *succeeds* Emeric *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 150 *he is defeated at* Wibbandun *by* Keaulin *and his Son* Cutha, ibid. *inlarges his Dominions from* Kent *to* Humber, p. 161 *civilly receives* Austin *and his Fellow-preachers of the Gospel,* p. 163, 164 *is himself baptiz'd,* p. 164 *mov'd by* Austin, *he builds* St Peters *Church in* Canterbury, *and endows it,* p. 166 *he builds and endows* St Pauls *Church in* London, *and the Cathedral at* Rochester, p. 167 *his death.* p. 170

Ethelbert, Eadbert, *and* Alric *succeed their Father* Victred *in the Kingdom of* Kent, p. 200 *see* Eadbright.

Ethelbert *the Son of* Ethelwolf *after the death of his Brother* Ethelbald *enjoys the whole Kingdome*

dome to himself, p. 232 *during his Reign the* Danes *waste* Kent, p. 233 *he is buried with his Brother at* Shirburn. ibid.

Ethelfrid *succeeds* Ethelric *in the Kingdom of* Northumberland, p. 158 *he wasts the* Britans, p. 166 *overthrows* Edan *King of* Scots, ibid. *in a Battel at* Westchester *against the* British *Forces he slays above twelve hundred Monks.* p. 169, 170

Ethelmund *and* Weolstan *the opposite Leaders of each party in a fight between the* Worstershire *men and* Wilt-shire *men slain.* p. 216

Ethelred *succeeding his Brother* Wulfer *in the Kingdom of* Mercia, *recovers* Lindsey *and other parts*, p. 193 *invades the Kingdome of* Kent, ibid. *a sore Battel between him and* Ecfrid *the* Northumbrian, p. 196 *after the violent death of his Queen he exchanges his Crown for a Monks Cowl.* p. 199

Ethelred *the Son of* Mollo, *the Usurper* Alcled *being forsaken by the* Northumbrians, *and depos'd, is Crown'd in his stead*, p. 208 *having caused three of his Noblemen to be treacherously slain, he is driven into banishment*, ibid. *after ten years banishment restor'd again*, p. 210 *he cruelly and treacherously puts to death* Oelf *and* Oelfwin, *the Sons of* Elfwald *formerly King*, p. 212 *and afterwards* Osred, *who though shaven a Monk, attempted again upon the Kingdom*, ibid. *he marries* Elfled *the Daughter of* Offa, p. 212 *is miserably slain by his people.* p. 214

Ethelred *the Son of* Eandred *driven out in his* 4th *year*, p. 226 *is re-exalted to his Seat, but slain the* 4th *year after.* ibid. Ethel-

Ethelred *the third Son of* Ethelwolf *the third Monarch of the* Engliſh-Saxons *infeſted with freſh Invaſions of the* Danes, p. 233 *he fights ſeveral great Battels with the* Danes *with various ſucceſs*, p. 236, 237 *he dies in the 5th year of his Reign, and is buried at* Winburn p. 238

Ethelred *the Son of* Edgar *by* Elfrida *crown'd at* Kingſton, p. 283 Dunſtan *at his Baptiſm preſages ill of his future ſloathful Reign*, p. 284 *new Invaſions of the* Danes, *and great ſpoils committed by them in his Reign*, p. 284, 285, &c. *being reduc't to ſtreights by the* Danes, *he retires into* Normandy, p. 300 *is recall'd by his people, and joyfully received*, p. 300, 301 *drives* Canute *the* Dane *back to his Ships*, p. 301 *he dies at* London. p. 305

Ethelric Ida's *Son expels* Edwin *the Son of* Alla *out of the Kingdom of* Deira. p. 157

Ethelwald *the Son of* Oſwald *King of* Deira, *taking part with the* Mercians, *withdraws his Forces.* p. 189

Ethelwald *the Brother of* Edelhere *ſucceeds him in the Kingdom of the* Eaſt-Angles. ibid.

Ethelwald *ſirnamed* Mollo *ſet up King of the* Northumbrians *in the room of* Oſwulf, p. 208 *he ſlays in Battel* Oſwin *a Lord that rebell'd againſt him*, ibid. *is ſet upon by* Alcled *who aſſumes his place.* p. 208, 209

Ethelwolf *the ſecond Monarch of the* Engliſh-Saxons, *of a mild nature, not warlike, or ambitious*, p. 225 *he with his Son* Ethelbald *gives the* Danes *a total defeat at* Ak-Lea, *or* Oak-Lea, p. 227, 228 *he dedicates the tenth of his whole*

whole Kingdom toward the maintenance of Maſſes and Pſalms for the proſpering of Him and his Captains againſt the Danes, p. 228 *takes a journey to* Rome *with his Son* Alfrid, *and marries* Judith *the Daughter of* Charles *the* Bald *of* France, p. 229 *he is driven by a Conſpiracy to conſign half his Kingdom to his Son* Ethelbald, ibid. *dies and is buried at* Winchester. p. 231

Ethelwolf *Earl of* Bark-ſhire *obtains a Victory againſt the* Danes *at* Englefield, p. 236 *in another Battel is ſlain himſelf.* ibid.

Etheldrith *refuſing for twelve years her Husband* Ecfrids *Bed, at length veils her ſelf a Nun, and is made Abbeſs of* Ely. p. 196

Euſtace *Count of* Boloign *revenging the death of one of his Servants, is ſet upon by the Citizens of* Canterbury, p. 330 *he complains to King* Edward, *who takes his part againſt the* Canterburians, *and commands Earl* Godwin *againſt them, but in vain.* p. 330, 331, &c.

F.

FAganus *and* Deruvianus *ſaid to have preach't the Goſpel here, and to have converted almoſt the whole Iland.* p. 95

Fauſtus *inceſtuouſly born of* Vortimer *and his Daughter, lives a devout life in* Glamorganſhire. p. 135

Fergus *King of* Scots *ſaid to be ſlain by the joynt Forces of the* Britans *and* Romans. p. 121

Ferrex *the Son of* Gorbogudo, *ſlays in fight his*

Brother Porrex, *though assisted with Forces out of* France, p. 28 *is in revenge slain himself in bed by his Mother* Videna. ibid.
Flattery *odious and contemptible to a generous spirit.* p. 317
Francus, *nam'd among the four Sons of* Istion, *sprung of* Japhet, *and from him the* Francs *said to be deriv'd.* p. 10
Fulgenius *reckon'd among the Ancient* British *Kings*, p. 36 *the Commander in Chief of the* Caledonians *against* Septimius Severus, *so call'd by* Geoffry *of* Monmouth. p. 100

G.

GAlgacus *heads the* Britans *against* Julius Agricola. p. 89
Germanus *in a publick disputation at* Verulam, *puts to silence the chief of the* Pelagians, p. 122, 123 *he is intreated by the* Britans *to head them against the* Picts *and* Saxons, p. 123 *he gains the Victory by a religious Stratagem*, p. 124 *his death.* p. 127
Gerontius *a* Britan *by his valour advances the success of* Constantine *the Usurper in* France *and* Spain, p. 113 *displac't by him, he calls in the* Vandals *against him*, p. 114 *deserted by his Souldiers, he defends himself valiantly with the slaughter of three hundred of his enemies*, ibid. *he kills his Wife* Nonnichia *refusing to out-live him.* ibid.
Geruntius *the Son of* Elidure *not his immediate Successor.* p. 35, 36

Godwin *Earl of* Kent, *and the* West-Saxons *ſtand for* Hardecnute, p. 318 *he betrayes Prince* Elfred *to* Harold, p. 319, 321 *being called to account by* Hardecnute, *he appeaſeth him with a very rich Preſent*, p. 322 *he earneſtly exhorts* Edward *to take upon him the Crown of* England, p. 325 *marries his Daughter to King* Edward, p. 326, 327 *he raiſes Forces in oppoſition of the* French *whom the King favour'd*, p. 331, 332 *is baniſht*, p. 333 *he and his Sons uniting in a great Fleet, grow formidable*, p. 335 *coming up to* London *with his Ships, and preparing for Battel, a Reconciliation is ſuddenly made between him and the King*, p. 336 *ſitting with the King at Table, he ſuddenly ſinks down dead in his ſeat.* p. 337

Gomer *the eldeſt Son of* Japhet *believ'd the firſt that peopled theſe Weſt and Northern Climes.* p. 8

Gonoril *gains upon the affection of her Father King* Leir *by her diſſimulation*, p. 24 *ſhe is married with* Maglaunus *Duke of* Albania, p. 25 *her ingratitude to her Father after ſhe had gain'd from him what ſhe could*, p. 25, 26

Gorbogudo, *or* Gorbodego *ſucceeds* Kinmarcus *in the Kingdom.* p. 28

Gorbonian *ſucceeds* Morindus *in the Kingdom*, p. 33 *his juſtice and piety.* ibid.

Gratianus Funarius *the Father of* Valentinian, *Commander in Chief of the* Roman *Armies in* Britan. p. 107

Gregory *Arch-deacon of* Rome, *and afterward Pope, procures the ſending over of Abbot* Auſtin *and others to preach the Goſpel to the* Saxons *in this Iland.* p. 162

Griffin *Prince of* South-Wales *joyning with* Algar, *and committing great ſpoil in* Hereford, *is purſued by* Harold *Earl of* Kent, p. 339 *after a Peace concluded, he breaks his Faith, and returns to Hoſtility*, ibid. *is again reduc't*, p. 340 Harold *ſent againſt him, brings the* Welch *to ſubmiſſion*, p. 341 *lurking about the Country, he is taken and ſlain by* Griffin *Prince of* North-Wales. ibid.

Guendolen *the Daughter of* Corineus *is married to* Locrine *the Son of* Brutus, p. 20, 21 *being divorc't by him, gives him Battel, wherein he is ſlain*, p. 21 *cauſeth* Eſtrildis *whom* Locrine *had married, to be thrown into a River with her Daughter* Sabra, ibid. *governs fifteen years in behalf of her Son* Madan. ibid.

Gueniver *the Wife of King* Arthur *kept from him by* Melvas *a* Britiſh *King in the Town of* Glaſton. p. 146

Guiderius *ſaid to have been the Son of* Cunobeline, *and ſlain in a Battel againſt* Claudius. p. 66

Guitheline *ſucceeds his Father* Gurguntius Barbirus *in the Kingdom.* p. 32

Gunhildis *the Siſter of* Swane *with her Husband Earl* Palingus, *and her young Son cruelly murther'd.* p. 291

Guorangonus *a King of* Kent *before it was given to the* Saxons. p. 133

Guortimer *the Son of* Vortiger *bends his endeavours to drive out the* Saxons, p. 134 *his ſucceſs againſt them in ſeveral Battels*, p. 136 *dying, he commands his bones to be buried in the Port of* Stonar. ibid.

Gurguntius Barbirus *ſucceeds* Belinus *in the Kingdom, overcomes the* Dane, *and gives incouragement to* Bartholinus *a* Spainard *to ſettle a Plantation in* Ireland, p. 32 *another ancient* Britiſh *King nam'd* Gurguntius. p. 36
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H.

HArdecnute *the Son of* Canute *by* Emma, *call'd over from* Bruges, *and receiv'd King with general acclamation*, p. 321 *he calls* Godwin *and others to account about the death of* Elfred, p. 322 *enrag'd at the Citizens of* Worceſter *for killing his Tax-gatherers, he ſends an Army againſt them, and burns the City*, p. 323 *he kindly receives and entertains his half Brother* Edward, ibid. *eating and drinking hard at a great Feaſt, he falls down ſpeechleſs, and ſoon after ex pring, is buried at* Wincheſter. ibid.

Harold *ſirnamed* Harefoot, *the Son of* Canute *elected King by Duke* Leofric *and the* Mercians, p. 318 *he baniſhes his Mother-in-Law* Emma, ibid. *his perfidiouſneſs and cruelty towards* Elfred *the Son of* Ethelred, p. 319, 321 *he dies and is buried at* Wincheſter. p. 321

Harold *Son of* Godwin, *made Earl of* Kent, *and ſent againſt Prince* Griffin *of* Wales, p. 339 *he reduces him at laſt to utmoſt extremity*, p. 340, 341 *being caſt upon the Coaſt of* Normandy, *and brought to Duke* William, *he promiſeth his endeavours to make him King of* England, p. 343, 344 *he takes the Crown himſelf*, p. 347 *puts off Duke* William *demanding it with a ſlighting anſwer*, p. 349, 350 *is invaded by his Brother* Toſti, p. 348 *by* Harold Harfager *King of* Norwey, *whom he utterly overthrows and ſlays, together with* Toſti, p. 350, 351 *is invaded by Duke* William *of* Normandy, p. 352 *is overthrown at the Battel of* Haſtings, *and ſlain, together with his two Brothers* Leofwin *and* Gyrtha. p. 355

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Humbeanna *and* Albert *ſaid by ſome to have ſhar'd the Kingdom of* Eaſt-Angles *after one* Elfwald. p. 219

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Immanuentius *ſlain by* Caſſibelan. p. 56
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KEarl *surrenders the Kingdom of* Mercia *to his Kinsman* Penda. p. 179

Keaulin *succeeds his Father* Kenric *in the Kingdom of the* West-Saxons, p. 150 *he and his Son* Cuthin *slay three* British *Kings at* Deorham, p. 156 *gives the* Britans *a very great*

rout at Fethanleage, p. 156, 157 *is totally routed by the* Britans *at* Wodensbeorth, *and chac't out of his Kingdom, dies in poverty.* p. 157, 158

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L.

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Mellitus, Justus, *and others sent with* Austin *to the Conversion of the* Saxons, p. 165 *he converts the* East-Saxons, p. 167 St Paul's *Church in London built for his Cathedral by* Ethelred, *as that of Rochester for* Justus. ibid.

Mollo, *the Brother of* Cedwalla, *persu'd, beset, and burnt in a house whither he had fled for shelter,* p. 195 *his death reveng'd by his Brother.* p. 196

Morcar *the Son of* Algar *made Earl of* Northumberland *in the room of* Tosti, p. 342 *he and* Edwin *Duke of the* Mercians *put* Tosti *to flight,* p. 349 *they give Battel to* Harold Harfager, *King of* Norwey : *but are put to the worst,* p. 351 *they refuse to set up* Edgar, *and at length are brought to swear fidelity to Duke* William *of* Normandy p. 355, 356

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O.

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FINIS.